

WHITMAN

AN UNFINISHED STORY



STEPHEN B. L. PENROSE

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WHITMAN
An Unfinished Story



MARCUS WHITMAN

WHITMAN

An Unfinished Story

By

STEPHEN B. L. PENROSE, D.D., LL.D.
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Illustrations by ERNEST RALPH NORLING

WHITMAN PUBLISHING CO.
WALLA WALLA, WASHINGTON

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COMPOSED, PRINTED, AND BOUND
The Collegiate Press
GEORGE BANTA PUBLISHING COMPANY
MENASHA, WISCONSIN

37889

FOREWORD

This book is a story, not a history. It chooses to follow the comparatively straight and narrow path of narration rather than the broader and more devious way of history which undertakes to set down all that its author knows, and to give with exactitude the original sources of all statements of fact. I could not adopt the latter method because I have neither the taste nor the training of an historian, and because for the last ten years I have been totally blind. It has been impossible for me to verify all quotations or to trace the sources of my information collected during many years.

In the first chapter, "At Waiilatpu," I am chiefly indebted to Rev. Myron Eells, son of the founder of Whitman College, for the information concerning Dr. and Mrs. Whitman contained in the book, *Marcus Whitman, Pathfinder and Patriot*. I have read all available material on the subject but believe that Myron Eells knew more of the facts at first hand and was more careful in his statements than anyone else whose writings I have read. In the second chapter, "Interlude," I have depended largely on *The Life of Governor Isaacs Ingalls Stevens*, by his son, General Hazard Stevens. The chapter on the life of Cushing Eells is largely drawn from the book, *Father Eells*, by his son, Myron. I make these acknowledgments because I cannot be sure that quotation marks have always been used to mark literal borrowings from these sources.

The later chapters of the book largely comprise my own personal recollections and insights. I came to the scene in 1890 as a member of the Yale-Washington Band, six graduates of Yale Divinity School, who selected the state of Washington for their new experiment in co-operative home missionary work, and I immediately became acquainted with Whitman College and President A. J. Anderson. During the following administration of President Eaton, I frequently spoke at the College and was, for a time, Secretary of the board of trustees. When I returned in September, 1894, from a summer in the Hawaiian Islands, I found that I had been elected President of the College, then at the point of death. Since then I have had the administration of its affairs and have helped to direct its development while continuously maintaining the work of teaching philosophy, in which I have been chiefly

FOREWORD

interested. I have not tried to write down all the details of this long acquaintance with the institution, but rather to point out the significant things in its development. If there were not such significant things of real importance in the development of American education this book would not have been written.

It would have been impossible for me to have written this story if it had not been for the tireless devotion and patient helpfulness of my wife who has taken down in longhand much of the material which I have dictated and to whom, for invaluable assistance in collecting and arranging material, I am deeply indebted.

As one follows the story of Whitman and Whitman College during the century that has elapsed since the first American home on the Pacific Coast was built at Waiilatpu in 1836, and realizes how the lost cause of 1847 was transformed into a living force for the perpetual benefit of mankind the feeling grows that this succession of events was not accidental, but that the golden thread of a divine purpose runs through the years and gives unity and meaning to the tale.

STEPHEN B. L. PENROSE

Oct. 15, 1934

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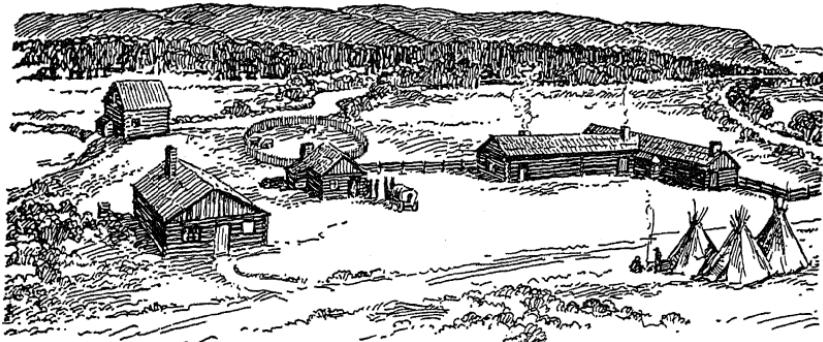
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CHAPTER I

AT WAIILATPU

More than a hundred years ago, probably in 1831, a white man, who was trapping in the interior of the vast wilderness which then constituted the Pacific Northwest, happened to spend the night with a wandering band of friendly Indians. As they sat around the campfire and bed time approached, the keen-eyed savages saw the white man take out of the inner pocket of his hunting coat a little book and slowly turn over its pages; they had never seen a book before. Presently they saw him close his eyes and his lips move in some strange incantation, they supposed. They asked him what it meant, and he told them that he had been reading from the White Man's Book which showed the way to a better land and that he had been praying to the White Man's God. They were deeply interested, and soon the news spread throughout the tribe.

So much, perhaps, is legend, but we come to actual history when, in September, 1831, four Flathead, or Nez Perce, chiefs appeared in St. Louis to find out about the White Man's God and the White Man's Book of Heaven. They made their way to the Commandant of the army post, General Clark, who, twenty-five years before, on the famous Lewis and Clark Expedition, had met the Nez Perces on the Clearwater. But, although he received them kindly and showed them all the sights of the young city, they did not seem to have made him understand what their real mission was. The two older chiefs died in St. Louis and were buried in the Catholic cemetery where their names are still recorded. As spring approached, the two young chiefs prepared to return home, disappointed in their quest. When they went to say farewell to General

Clark, one of them is reported to have said in substance, "I came to you with one eye partly open for more light to my people who sit in darkness, but I will go back with both eyes closed. How can I go back blind to my blind people? The two fathers who came with us, the braves of many winters and wars, we leave asleep by your great water and wigwams. My people sent me to get the White Man's Book of Heaven, but I have not found it. I am going back the long, sad trail to my people of the dark land. You make my feet heavy with the burden of gifts, and my moccasins will grow old in carrying them, but the book is not among them. When I tell my poor blind people, after one more snow, in the big council that I did not bring the book, no word will be spoken by our old men nor by our young braves. One by one they will rise up and go out in silence. My people will die in darkness and they will go on the long trail to the other hunting grounds. No white man will go with them, and no white man's Book will make the way plain. I have spoken."

Perhaps the speech was an invention, but the visit was a fact which was interpreted as a call to God for help. A year later a young man, William Walker, who was interpreter to the Wyandotte Indians, and who had seen the visitors in General Clark's house, wrote a highly colored account of the visit to a friend living in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. His letter was published in the *Christian Advocate* of March 1, 1833, and soon the news spread throughout the East that the Indians of the far Northwest were seeking for the gospel. Widespread interest was aroused without inquiry whether the story was true or false.

The Methodist Episcopal Church was the first to move in answer to this supposed cry for help, and in 1834 commissioned Rev. Jason Lee, a local preacher of Connecticut, his nephew, Rev. Daniel Lee, and Cyrus Shepard, a lay teacher, as "Missionaries to the Flathead Indians." They crossed the continent that summer and settled in the Willamette Valley devoting themselves to the few Indians who remained and the half breed children of the Hudson's Bay Company trappers, who had retired from that service, and were settled there.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Boston, then the joint agency of the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches, also responded to the appeal, but with more caution. In 1835 they sent out an exploring party to learn the number of Indians living in the Pacific Northwest and the probable success of missionary work among them. The exploring party consisted of Rev. Samuel Parker, minister of the Presbyterian Church of Ithaca, New York, and a young doctor, Marcus Whit-

man, of Rushville, New York, with whose subsequent history this story is concerned. When, in August, they reached the annual rendezvous of trappers and Indians on Green River, Wyoming, they found so many Indians, and learned of such numbers living beyond the mountains, that they promptly decided that Dr. Whitman should return East for reinforcements, while Mr. Parker should continue the exploring tour. While at Green River, Dr. Whitman performed the first recorded surgical operation by an American physician west of the Rocky Mountains, extracting a bent iron arrow-head which had been embedded for three years in the back of the famous scout, Capt. Jim Bridger.

Marcus Whitman was born in Rushville, New York, on September 4, 1802, a descendant of John Whitman, who came from Herefordshire, England, and settled at Weymouth, Massachusetts, about 1635. Brought up in a sturdy and God-fearing family of the best New England stock, the boy studied Latin under Rev. Moses Hallock, of Plainfield, Massachusetts; is said to have studied medicine in the Berkshire Medical Institute at Pittsfield, and finally returned to Rushville, where he continued his medical studies with Dr. Ira Bryant, graduating from the Fairfield Medical Institute in 1824. He practiced medicine for four years in Canada and afterward in western New York. He also gained a valuable business experience by a partnership with his brother in the management of a saw mill near Potter Center. He and his family were members of the Congregational Church in Rushville, but later he moved to Wheeler where he joined the Presbyterian Church and was chosen its ruling elder.

The news that the Indians of the far Northwest were asking for the gospel stirred his heart. His active mind, physical vigor and adventurous disposition made him eager for a larger field, and he had already offered himself in 1834 to the American Board "as physician, teacher or agriculturist." The land to which he wished to go had not yet received a name, and his commission from the American Board, dated in 1835, was "to Indian tribes west of the Missouri River."

When, with two Indian boys, he returned to New York State for reinforcements for his mission, he at once offered himself in marriage to Narcissa Prentiss, of Prattsburg, New York, whom he had long known and admired. She was also of New England stock, well brought up in a comfortable home, of devout parents and educated in Miss Willard's Seminary at Troy, New York. Tall, beautiful, golden-haired, and gifted with a lovely voice, she had the religious character and adventurous disposition which fitted her to be his true helpmate. Her experience as

a teacher had also prepared her for her future life work.

She accepted him, and they were married in February, 1836, at Prattsburg. Immediately afterwards they started on their wedding journey across the continent, having as companions and associate-missionaries Rev. and Mrs. Henry Harmon Spalding, who had intended to go to the Osage Indians, and a young man, William H. Gray, twenty-four years old, who went as secular helper and general utility man.

Dr. Whitman was at this time thirty-four years old, about five feet, ten inches in height, deep chested, and with a large head set close upon broad shoulders. His endurance and physical strength were remarkable. He had the body and the mind of the explorer, the adventurer and the scientist. He took with him farm implements and seeds, for he hoped to establish a self-supporting mission, and to teach agriculture and horticulture to the Indians.

The little party of missionaries travelled by boat down the Ohio and up the Missouri River to Liberty Landing, where they expected to join the annual expedition of the American Fur Company. But the Fur Company expedition had already started, and they did not succeed in overtaking it until late in May at Loup Fork. Their journey was long and hard, food was at times insufficient, and the two young women, obliged to ride on horseback for the first time in their lives, suffered many hardships, but without complaint. A few quotations from the diary which Mrs. Whitman kept on her wedding journey of three thousand miles will illustrate their experiences. Though they rode on horseback most of the way, they took with them a canvas covered wagon which Dr. Whitman was determined should go with them to their future home.

July 26—Path so narrow that scarcely could the animals find room to put their feet. . . . Husband had a tedious time with the wagon today. Got set in the creek this morning—was obliged to wade to get it out. . . . On the pass between two mountains . . . the wonder was it was not turning sommersets continually. All the most difficult part of the way he has walked in his laborious attempt to take the wagon over.

27—Have had no game of any kind except a few messes of antelope. . . . We have plenty of dry buffalo meat which we purchase from the Indians. . . . I can hardly eat it, it appears so filthy but it will keep us alive. We have had a few meals of fresh fish also. Found no berries today. Neither have I found any of Ma's bread. . . . Do not think I regret coming. No! far from it. I would not go back for the world. I am contented and happy notwithstanding I get very hungry and weary.

July 28—One of the axle trees of the wagon broke today. Was a little rejoiced for were in hopes they would leave it and have no more trouble with it. Our rejoicing was in vain however for they are making a cart of

the hind wheels this afternoon and lashing the forward wheels to it intending to take it through in one shape or another. They are so resolute and untiring in their efforts they will probably succeed.

August 3—Came to Fort Hall today. Anything that looks like a home makes us glad.

At Fort Hall (in southern Idaho) they found a party of the Hudson's Bay Company about to return to the Columbia River and these men generously invited the missionaries to accompany them and showed themselves at all times friendly.

Mrs. Whitman writes:

August 13—They were preparing to cross Snake River. . . . Two of the tallest horses were selected to carry Mrs. S. and myself over. The last branch we rode as much as half a mile . . . against the current which made it hard for the horses, the water being up to their sides.

Husband had considerable difficulty in crossing with the cart. Both cart and mules were capsized in the water and the mules entangled in the harness. . . . After putting two of the strongest horses before the cart and two men swimming behind to steady it, they succeeded in getting it over. I once thought that crossing streams would be the most dreadful part of the journey. I can now cross the most difficult stream without fear.

August 22—We found a canoe made of rushes and willows on which we placed ourselves and our saddles (Sister S. and myself) when two Indians on horseback with each a rope attached to the canoe towed us over. We are favorites of the company—no one else was privileged to ride on it.

As for the wagon it is left at the Fort. Perhaps you will wonder why we left it having taken it so near through. Our animals were failing and the route in crossing the Blue Mts. is said to be impassible for it. We regret now to lose it, when we have been to so much labor in getting it as far. We shall send for it.

After leaving their wagon at Snake Fort, or Fort Boise, as it was later called, a little post just established by the Hudson's Bay Company, they pushed westward as rapidly as possible, ascended the Burnt River, crossed the Grand Ronde Valley and climbed the great ridge of the forest-covered Blue Mountains. When at last they emerged from the forest and looked down on the Walla Walla Valley where they were to spend their lives in heroic Christian service, a vast region of rolling hills and plains lay before their eyes, with a glimpse of the Columbia River far to the west, and beyond it, against the sunset, the conical, snow-clad peaks of Mt. Hood and Mt. St. Helens.

They were foreign missionaries, for the land to which they had come had as yet no owner. Great Britain and the United States

each claimed ownership, but had agreed to a treaty of joint occupancy, which had been first signed in 1818 to run for ten years and had been renewed in 1828. Ten years later it was again to be renewed for a ten year period because the value of the country was still little known. But, although the United States was ignorant of its extent and natural resources, the British Hudson's Bay Company was in possession of it with one great post at Fort Vancouver, ninety miles above the mouth of the Columbia River and another great post at Fort Colville, five hundred miles to the north-east. On the Columbia, at the mouth of the Walla Walla River, was a small post of the Hudson's Bay Company known as Fort Nez Perce, or Fort Walla Walla, consisting of a few log and adobe buildings surrounded by a log stockade.

On September 1 the missionaries reached Fort Walla Walla and were welcomed with abundant hospitality and great wonderment by the courteous French gentleman, Mr. P. C. Pambrun, who was in charge. He advised them to continue down the Columbia to Fort Vancouver and consult with Dr. John McLoughlin, the wise and powerful chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company there. After a few days rest they started down the Columbia in the boats and with the escort which Mr. Pambrun provided, reaching Fort Vancouver on September 12. They were received by Dr. McLoughlin with genuine and warm-hearted hospitality. He treated them as his guests and insisted that Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding should remain with him and his Indian wife in their spacious mansion on the lordly estate which the Hudson's Bay Company had developed there, while the men of the party were selecting their future homes in the upper country and building houses for them.

Mrs. Whitman's diary gives glimpses of her visit with these new-found friends.

September 14—Dr. McLoughlin promises to loan us enough to make a beginning (with supplies of all sorts) and all the return he asks is that we supply other settlers in the same way. No person could have received a more hearty welcome or be treated with greater kindness than we have here since our arrival.

September 22—Dr. McLoughlin has put his daughter in my care and wishes me to hear her recitations. . . . I sing with the children every evening which is considered a favor.

October 25—The grapes are just ripe. They are very fine. I save all the seeds of those I eat for planting and of apples too. I have collected an assortment of garden seeds also . . . some young sprouts of apple, peach, grape and strawberry vines. We brought an assortment of seeds from Cincinnati too.

My school of singers . . . have improved much in their singing. Dr. McLoughlin thinks it a great assistance to them in learning the English language. Dr. says if I were not (to be) so far off he would send all to me, 18 of them orphans, which the Dr. has picked up and saved alive. Mrs. McLoughlin has a fine ear for music. She is one of the kindest women in the world. She wishes to go and live with me, her daughter and Mrs. Douglas also . . . the Lord reward them for their love and kindness to me.

It was decided that Dr. Whitman should establish his mission on the Walla Walla River among the Cayuse Indians, although that tribe was known to be treacherous and war-like; and that Mr. Spalding should establish his among the friendly Nez Perces on the Kooskooskie, or Clearwater River, a hundred miles farther east; the three young men left at once to build log cabins before the winter should set in. In early October they had selected the site for Dr. Whitman's mission twenty-five miles east of Fort Nez Perce, at Waiilatpu, "the Place of Rye Grass" on the Walla Walla River, near the point where a large stream flows into it from the mountains. The place was a favorite camping ground of the Cayuse, Umatilla and Walla Walla tribes, who came and went as their fancy pleased, being gone for long periods hunting buffalo beyond the Rocky Mountains and returning for a few months in the spring.

The log hut which the three young Americans built was a crude affair, showing no signs of skilled workmanship or promising much comfort for its occupants. It was a hut, with lean-to, of cottonwood logs, later plastered with mud, a chimney and a rough floor, openings for a door and a window, and completely destitute of furniture. This was the first American home on the Pacific Coast and here, on December 10, 1836, Dr. and Mrs. Whitman set up housekeeping and began their mission work for the Indians who came and went with the seasons.

Three months after the cabin on the Walla Walla was first occupied by Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, a child was born to them, March 14, 1837, on Mrs. Whitman's twenty-ninth birthday. The baby was named Alice Clarissa after her two grandmothers and was the first American white child born on the Pacific Coast. She was welcomed with joy by the parents and the Indians, who called the little girl, with her blue eyes and golden hair, "the white fawn." For two years and a half she gladdened her parents' hearts until, by a sad mischance, she was accidentally drowned in the river which flowed behind the cabin.

There is no record of the grief and sorrow which they felt, but one can imagine the heart-break of the lonely mother far away

from her home and the sympathy which she would have found there. She had not often heard from her parents since she said goodbye after her marriage and disappeared forever from their sight. It was two years and four months before the first letters from home reached her in the wilderness, having been taken by ship around Cape Horn to Honolulu, thence to the mouth of the Columbia by a schooner, which made the trip once each year, and brought by Hudson's Bay men up the river and at last to Waiilatpu. The isolation of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman is measured by this fact, though later it was found possible to receive letters more quickly by means of the annual expedition of the Fur Company which started each spring from Quebec and reached the Northwest within a year.

Both Dr. and Mrs. Whitman were busy all the time with missionary activities; she at once began a school for the Indian children and he threw himself with boundless energy into the work of the farm, which he considered indispensable, both for the support of the mission and for the instruction of the Indians. They also had to learn the Indian language and become accustomed to Indian ways, to hold religious services on Sunday and to set an example of gentleness, patience and steady devotion to duty.

In March, 1838, the Doctor wrote to the Board, "During the winter we have been greatly favored by having a few very kind Indians near us, so that we have had a school of from fifteen to twenty scholars, many of whom have made good proficiency in learning to read the English language. Those who have been away for the winter hunt are now returned, and the present number of children is greater than we have books or ability to teach."

In August, 1838, the Indians seemed so much interested in the Gospel that the Doctor sent for Mr. Spalding, who came, and held a series of religious meetings. At the close of these meetings, August 18, a church was organized composed of seven members: Mr. and Mrs. Spalding, Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, Joseph Mahi and his wife, Hawaiians, and Charles Compo—a settler from the mountains, and Mr. Parker's interpreter in 1835—who had become a Christian at Dr. Whitman's. This church was Presbyterian in name, the first of that denomination on the Pacific Coast, but it was Congregational in practice as long as the mission lasted, not being connected with any Presbytery or Synod and being governed by a majority of its members.

In 1837 Mr. Gray had gone East for reinforcements and, after a perilous journey, which he later recorded, succeeded in reaching his home. He returned West the next year with his wife and a large party of American Board missionaries, consisting of Rev.

and Mrs. Cushing Eells, Rev. and Mr. Elkanah Walker, Rev. and Mrs. A. B. Smith, and Mr. Cornelius Rogers. When the reinforcement to the mission arrived, all of them united with the church, making sixteen members. Mr. Spalding was pastor of it, a position he held for thirty-eight years, until his death, and Dr. Whitman was chosen its ruling Elder.

The Eells and Walker families spent the fall and winter of 1838 at Waiilatpu and, in the following spring, established a new mission of the American Board at Tshimakain among the Spokane Indians, two hundred miles to the north and about equally distant from Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding.

Soon after the newcomers had arrived a Temperance Society was organized at the Whitman mission with Archibald McKinley, then factor of Fort Walla Walla, a staunch Presbyterian, as one of its members. About the same time a Mothers' Meeting was formed for the benefit of the wives and mothers of the missions at Waiilatpu, Lapwai and Tshimakain. These organizations were the first of their kind west of the Rocky Mountains.

In 1839 the American Board sent a printing press to the Oregon missions from their mission in the Hawaiian Islands. It was a small Ramage hand press, and was brought to them by an experienced printer, E. O. Hall, who brought it first to Waiilatpu and later set it up at Lapwai at Mr. Spalding's mission. This was the first printing press on the Pacific Coast. In October, 1839, Mrs. Whitman wrote, "We never had greater encouragement about the Indians than at the present time." The Cayuses became much interested in the books printed in their language, and this encouraged them to attend the school, so that the Doctor wrote that the school had averaged sixty or eighty scholars for a month.

How the mission grew and how Dr. and Mrs. Whitman kept busy is pictured vividly by an American traveller, T. J. Farnham, who visited the mission in 1839 and later published a book describing his travels. In his *Travels Across the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains*, he gives the following account of his visit at Dr. Whitman's:

September 23rd. A ride of five miles brought us in sight of the groves around the mission. We crossed the river, passed the Indian encampment hard by, and were at the gate of the mission fields in the presence of Dr. Whitman. He was speaking Skyuse (Cayuse) at the top of his voice to some lazy Indians, who were driving their cattle from his garden, and giving orders to others to yoke the oxen, get the axes, and go into the forest for the lower sleepers of the new mission house. Mr. Hall, printer from the Sandwich Islands, soon appeared in working dress, with his ax on his shoulder. Next came Mr. Munger, pulling the pine shavings from

his plane. All seemed desirous to ask me how long a balloon line had been running between the States and the Pacific, by which single individuals crossed the Continent. The oxen were, however, yoked and axes glistening in the sun, and no time to spend, if they would return from their labor before nightfall, so that the whence and the wherefore of my sudden appearance among them were left for an after explanation. The Doctor introduced me to his excellent lady and departed to his labor.

. . . The old mission house stands on the northeast corner of an enclosure containing about two hundred and fifty acres, two hundred of which are under good cultivation. The soil is a thin stratum of clay, mixed with sand, and a small proportion of vegetable mold, resting on a base of coarse gravel. Through this gravel water from the Walla Walla filtrates and by capillary attraction is raised to the roots of vegetation in the incumbent earth. The products are wheat, Indian corn, beans, pumpkins, Irish potatoes, etc.—in the fields; and beets, carrots, onions, turnips, rutabagas, water, musk and nutmeg melons, squashes, asparagus, tomatoes, cucumbers, peas, etc., in the garden—all of good quality and abundant crops.

The morning of the 23rd opened in the loveliest hues of the sky. When the smoking vegetables, the hissing steak, bread, white as snow, and the newly churned butter, graced the table, and the happy countenances of countrymen and countrywomen shone around, I could with difficulty believe myself in a country so far distant from, and so unlike my native land and all its features. But during breakfast this pleasant illusion was dispelled by one of the causes which induced it. Our steak was horse-flesh! On such meat this poor family live most of the time.

The breakfast being over, the Doctor invited me to stroll over his premises. The garden was first examined—its location on the banks of the Walla Walla, the beautiful tomato and other vegetables burdening the grounds, next to the fields. The Doctor's views of the soil and its mode of receiving moisture from the river were such as I have previously expressed. Then, to the new house. The adobe walls had been erected a year. It was about 40×120 feet, and one and a half stories high. To the main building was attached another of equal height, designed for a kitchen, with chambers above designed for servants. Mr. Munger and a Sandwich Islander were laying the floors, making the doors, etc. The lumber was a very superior quality of yellow pine plank, which Dr. Whitman had cut with a whip-saw among the Blue Mountains, fifteen miles distant. Next, to the "corral." A fine yoke of oxen, two cows, an American bull, the beginning of a stock of hogs, were thereabouts. At last, to the grist-mill. It consisted of a spherical wrought iron burr, four or five inches in diameter, surrounded by a counterburred surface of the same materials. The spherical burr was permanently attached to a shaft of a horizontal waterwheel. The surrounding surface was firmly fastened to timbers in such a position that when the water-wheel was put in motion the operation of the mill was similar to that of a coffee mill. It was a crazy thing, but for it the Doctor was grateful. It would, with the help of himself and an Indian, grind enough in a day to feed his family for

a week, and that was better than to beat it with a pestle and a mortar.

It appeared to me quite remarkable that the Doctor should have made so many improvements since the year 1836; but the industry which crowded every hour of the day, his untiring energy of character, and the very efficient aid of his wife in relieving him in a great degree from the labors of the school, are perhaps circumstances which render possibility probable, that in three years one man, without funds for such purposes, without other aid for that business than that of a fellow missionary for short intervals, should fence, plow, build, plant an orchard, and do all other laborious acts of opening a plantation on the face of that distant wilderness, learn an Indian language, and do the duties meanwhile, of physician to the associate stations on the Clearwater and Spokane.

In the afternoon Dr. Whitman and his lady assembled the Indians for instruction in reading. Forty or fifty children between the ages of seven and eighteen, and several older people, gathered on the shady side of the new mission house, at the ringing of a hand bell, and seated themselves in an orderly manner on ranges of wooden benches. The Doctor then wrote monosyllables, words, and instructive sentences on a large blackboard suspended on a wall, and proceeded first to teach them the nature and power of the letters, in representing the simple sounds of the language, and then the construction of words, and their uses in forming sentences expressive of thought. The sentences written during these operations were at last read, syllable by syllable, and word after word, and explained, until the sentiments contained in them were comprehended. And it was delightful to notice the undisguised avidity with which these people would devour a new idea. It seemed to produce a thrill of delight that kindled up the countenances, and animated the whole frame. A hymn in the Nez Perce language, learned by rote from their teachers, was then sung, and the exercises closed with prayer by Dr. Whitman in the same language.

Twenty-fifth. I was awakened at early dawn by the merry sounds of clapping boards, the ax, the hammer, and the plane—the sweet melodies of the parent of virtue at the cradle of civilization. When I rose, everything was in motion. I said everything was alive. Not so. The Skyuse village was in the deepest slumber, save a few solitary individuals, who were stalking with slow and stately tread up a neighboring butte to descry the retreat of their animals. Their conical skin lodges dotted the valley above the mission, and imparted to the landscape a peculiar wildness. As the sun rose, the inmates began to emerge from them.

This is the imperial tribe of Oregon. They are also a tribe of merchants (often doing the trading between the Indians east of the Blue Mountains and those towards The Dalles). They own large numbers of horses. A Skyuse is thought to be poor who has not fifteen or twenty of them. One fat, hearty old fellow owns something over two thousand, all wild except so many as he needs for use or sale.

The course pursued by Dr. Whitman and the other Presbyterian missionaries to improve the Indians is to teach them the Nez Perce language, according to fixed grammatical rules, for the purpose of opening to them

the arts and religion of civilized nations through the medium of books. They also teach them practical agriculture and the useful arts for the purpose of civilizing their physical condition. By these means they hope to make them a better and happier people.

This was the evening before the Sabbath, and Dr. Whitman, as his custom was, invited one of the most intelligent Indians into his study, translated to him the text of Scripture, from which he intended to teach the tribe on the morrow, explained to him its doctrines, and required of him to explain in return. This was repeated again and again, until the Indian obtained a clear understanding of its doctrine.

The 29th was the Sabbath. At 10 o'clock the Skyuse assembled for worship in the open air. The exercises were according to the Presbyterian form—the hymn, the prayer, the hymn, the sermon, the hymn, and the blessing, all in the Nez Perce tongue. The principal peculiarity about the exercises was the mode of delivering the discourse. When Dr. Whitman arose and announced the text, the Indian, who had been instructed on the previous night, rose and repeated it, and as the address proceeded, repeated it also, by sentence or paragraph, till it was finished. This is the custom of the Skyuse in all their public speaking; and the benefit resulting in this case, apparently, was giving the doctrines which the Doctor desired to inculcate a clearer expression in the proper idiom of the language. During the recess the children assembled in the Sabbath school. In the afternoon the service was similar to that of the morning. Everything was conducted with much solemnity. After the service the Indians gathered in their lodges and conversed together concerning what they had heard. If doubt arose as to any point, it was solved by the instructed Indian. Thus passed the Sabbath among the Skyuse.

One might infer from the above description that Dr. Whitman was a minister because he held such religious services. He was not a minister but a medical missionary, the first American to practice medicine on the Pacific Coast; he added to his professional duties those of gardening, farming, irrigating, lumbering, travelling, teaching and preaching. The use of horse flesh for food which so shocked Mr. Farnham was discontinued after cattle and hogs were introduced and became sufficiently numerous. Mrs. Whitman wrote in 1841, "We do not need to kill more horses for meat." Despite all hardships and trials she had written in an earlier letter: "Our united choice would be to live and die here, to spend our lives for the salvation of this people. We have ever been contented and happy, notwithstanding all our trials, and let come what will we had rather die in the battle than to retreat."

For a long time the housekeeping arrangements were a great annoyance to Mrs. Whitman. They lived in their original cabin for four years and then moved into a new and more comfortable house which Dr. Whitman built with the help of Mr. Munger who had come to stay for a time at the Mission. It was some relief

when Mrs. Whitman first received a cookstove in 1842, but the constant presence of the Indians, and their childish curiosity about the white man's ways, caused a nervous strain as they crowded about her while she was cooking, and obliged her to clean the house after them. However hard this was upon her patience and her strength, she felt that she must maintain her own standard of cleanliness and not sink to their level.

There was no good wood for boards nearer than the Blue Mountains, about fifteen miles away, and no wagon, so that it was necessary to drag some of the logs on sleds that distance, and then saw them with pit-saws. Sometimes they sawed them in the mountains and packed the boards on horses to the station. When, in 1844, Doctor Whitman built a saw-mill far up in the mountains on the stream which emptied into the Walla Walla River just below the Mission it received the name Mill Creek which it bears to this day. For making tables, bedsteads and the like, they used the alder which grew near home and for lime to whitewash the adobes they burned fresh water clam shells.

Meanwhile the number of settlers in the Oregon country was growing slowly but steadily. Soon after they had arrived, there were—mainly in the Willamette Valley—thirty-six Americans, twenty-five of whom had native wives. Most of these were trappers. Two years later there were one hundred thirty-seven Americans and sixty-three Canadian-French. In 1841 Mrs. Whitman speaks of an immigration of twenty-four persons, two of them with a large number of children, and, in 1842, a still larger immigration came, organized mainly through the efforts of Dr. Elijah White, who came with it as sub-Indian agent. It consisted of about one hundred ten persons, over fifty of whom were eighteen years old or upwards and capable of bearing arms.

It was this last party of immigrants under Dr. White which brought exciting news to the missionaries in the form of a communication from the American Board in Boston concerning the several missions, and the rumor that the United States was about to sign a treaty with Great Britain which would decide the question of the Northwest boundary and the ownership of Oregon. The effect which this communication and this unjustified rumor produced upon the missionaries was profound and resulted in an amazing action by Dr. Whitman. He determined to go East at once to prevent the United States Government from abandoning Oregon to England and to induce the American Board, if possible, to rescind its hasty action.

Some dissension had existed in the Mission from 1840 to 1842, especially between Messrs. Gray, Smith, Spalding and Whitman,

and these differences, together with the fact that the Indians did not seem to be as numerous as were at first estimated, decided the Prudential Committee of the Board to discontinue the stations among the Cayuses and Nez Perces, to discharge Messrs. Spalding, Gray, Rogers and Smith, and to transfer Dr. Whitman to the station among the Spokanes. But before the order was received Messrs. Smith, Gray and Rogers had left the mission voluntarily, and affairs had taken such a favorable turn that a meeting of the mission was called at Dr. Whitman's, September 26-28, at which it was determined to see if this decision could not be reversed. The Mission, as a body, sent a petition to the Board to this effect. Mr. Spalding wrote earnestly on the subject. Messrs. Walker and Eells wrote their earnest protest, representing that the proposed change would mean the death of their station among the Spokanes, for it would not live long if the others should be discontinued; moreover, if the southern stations should be continued they would have beneficial influence on the white settlers who were sure to come. Mr. McKinley, then in charge of Fort Walla Walla, wrote on the same line, and Dr. Whitman determined to make a personal appeal to the Board. There is no evidence, however, that he would have gone East that winter if he had not had a stronger reason for going.

It had been understood at the missionary conference, September 26-28, that Dr. Whitman would leave for the East on October 5, taking with him the letters to the American Board, but, suddenly, he made up his mind to go earlier and, without waiting for the letters, started east on October 3; why he made this sudden decision has always been a mystery, but it can be explained perhaps by the following curious story.

Fifty years afterwards the son of Rev. Henry Spalding told the writer that he had often heard his father describe how, late one afternoon in the fall of 1842, Dr. Whitman had ridden at full speed up to the Mission and, before leaping from his horse, had called to his fellow missionary standing in the doorway, "Spalding, I must go to Washington at once." Mr. Spalding said that Dr. Whitman had ridden that morning to Fort Walla Walla to attend a patient, a boy whose leg had been broken by the kick of a horse, and, after attending to his patient, had been asked to dinner by the Hudson's Bay factor. While the company were at dinner a guide came in with the exciting news that a party of British settlers had made their way around through the north country and were already embarked on the Columbia River. A young Englishman had leaped to his feet and proposed the toast, "Here's to Oregon! She's ours now. The United States may whistle for her." Dr.

Whitman realized instantly what the news meant, if true—the loss of Oregon to the United States and the defeat of his missionary undertaking. As soon as possible after the dinner was over he saddled his horse and rode off posthaste, determined to do what he could to prevent the triumph of the British.

To this interesting story serious objections have been raised. Certainly, no party of British settlers made their way from the Saskatchewan to the Columbia that year, and Mr. Spalding's reliability as an historian may well be questioned. Nevertheless, something occurred to hasten Dr. Whitman's departure for the East. It had been agreed that he should start on October 5. Instead of waiting until the fifth he started East on the third of October. No adequate explanation has been given for his haste except this questionable story by Mr. Spalding. Did he invent it, or was there a grain of truth in his story? It is true that no British settlers arrived that year, but rumor flies equally fast, whether true or false, and it might have been that Dr. Whitman heard at Fort Walla Walla a false rumor which was told as a fact.

Dr. Whitman had resolved to inform his government concerning the great value of the land of his adoption, whose fertility he had tested and whose resources he had discovered. To the remonstrances of his fellow-missionaries he had said, "Gentlemen, though I am a missionary, I am not expatriated. To Washington I will go."

On October 3, 1842, Dr. Whitman started to cross the continent with one white companion, A. L. Lovejoy, who had just brought from the East the news of the impending treaty and who later became a distinguished citizen of Oregon. Dr. Whitman had other business than interviewing the government at Washington, for he intended to interview the Prudential Committee of the American Board at Boston, but his primary object was political, and he went first to Washington by the most expeditious route.

His winter ride from Walla Walla to Washington was full of romantic and terrible adventures. It has been called the "greatest ride in history." He took with him beside Mr. Lovejoy, an Indian, who professed to act as guide, though it proved that he did not know the way. They made the first eight hundred miles in record time and came to Fort Hall, commanded by an Englishman, Captain Grant. He stopped them. There was, to him, something suspicious in the sight of two young Americans starting to ride east when the snows were already white upon the mountain tops, and he told them they could go no further. "Why not?" asked Dr. Whitman. "The Indians are on the warpath along the trail

in the mountains," was the reply, "and it is certain death to go farther." There was at that time but one trail across the northern part of the continent and Dr. Whitman had expected to take that trail. "You must stay here," said Captain Grant, "or turn back." "No," said Dr. Whitman; "if we can't take the regular trail, we will turn to the south and take the Santa Fé trail." It was a thousand miles out of their way over an unbroken wilderness, over mountains which few white men had ever seen, over rivers which white men had never crossed. But turn to the south they did, and made their way through the deepening winter snows, to save Oregon Territory to the United States. Once only on that journey did Dr. Whitman lose heart. The snows had gathered around them, and what few landmarks there were were lost to sight. They were in a canyon and they knew not whether to turn to the right hand or to the left. The Doctor said at last, "Hope is gone; we might as well give up." After a minute or two of silence, the Indian exclaimed, "Look at the old pack mule; see how it is turning its head and twitching its ears as though it wanted to go in this direction." "Well," said Dr. Whitman, "We may as well go in that direction as any other." They followed that old pack mule and it led the little party, under the providence of God, back to where their morning campfire was still burning, and where they found the landmarks they had lost.

They came one day, so Mr. Lovejoy tells us in a letter which is still preserved, to a river six hundred feet wide, frozen a third of the way over on either side, and with a great rushing torrent down the middle. The horses balked and refused to enter. Dr. Whitman leaped from his saddle, cut a pole eight or ten feet long in the bushes, and then mounting, had his companions lead him to the edge and push him off into the icy current. Horse and rider sank with a splash, then rising to the surface, struck out for the opposite shore, the current bearing them diagonally down the stream. The other men and animals followed. When Dr. Whitman reached the other shore he took the pole, which he carried on his shoulder, broke the loose ice on the edge and clambered out on the thick ice, hauling his horse up after him. Then mounting into his saddle he rode on into the forest to build a fire, but as he went, the water on his clothes turned to ice.

Their provisions gave out; they were obliged to live on dog meat and mule meat, and at last even on the bark of cottonwood trees, but nothing daunted them. On January 3, 1843, they reached Bent's Fort, on the Arkansas River, Dr. Whitman's face, hands and feet frozen, but with a clear trail east to Washington. The Indian and Mr. Lovejoy were too exhausted to go farther, but Dr. Whitman

did not stop a single day. Calling for a fresh horse, he rode eastward, believing that the fate of an empire was hanging at his saddlebow.

It was on March 3, 1843, the day before Congress adjourned, when Dr. Whitman reached Washington, five months to the day from the time he left Waiilatpu. When he made his way to Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, he found that Webster, for some unexplained reason, would not listen to his story. He suspected that Mr. Webster had already decided to abandon Oregon to Great Britain in exchange for concessions elsewhere. Baffled, yet not disheartened, he went to see President Tyler, who was more impressed. "The man is a missionary," he said. "His face and hands show what he has been through, but," said he, "Dr. Whitman, Oregon cannot be saved to the United States, because it cannot be settled from the East. You cannot take wagons over the Rocky Mountains." "Can't take wagons over the Rocky Mountains?" said Dr. Whitman. "Mr. President, seven years ago I took the first wagon that ever crossed the Rocky Mountains." "Well," said President Tyler, "if you can show the accessibility of Oregon, and that the mountains can be crossed by wagons, I will see that the land is not given to Great Britain."

This was as much as Dr. Whitman had hoped for, and he next hastened on his way to Boston. Horace Greeley, in the New York *Tribune*, described Dr. Whitman as he hurried from Washington, through New York, to Boston. He transacted his business with the American Board, later reporting that he was received coolly for abandoning his post but was successful in securing the retention of the missions at Waiilatpu and Lapwai. Then he turned westward, and, after a brief visit in western New York state to see his family and the family of Mrs. Whitman, he hastened to overtake the wagon train which had been gathering for Oregon. Dr. Whitman had not been directly instrumental in assembling the diverse elements that made up that wagon train. It is true that, as he had ridden eastward through the Mississippi Valley, he had told the people whom he met about the fertility of Oregon and its accessibility by wagon and had bidden them look forward to a wagon train which, in the coming spring, would start for the Land of Promise. But he had been too occupied with his other concerns to influence the immigration personally. However, Mr. Lovejoy had remained behind and is said to have scattered hand-bills concerning the future wagon train, some of which reached even down to Texas. A lively interest in Oregon had, at this time, become widespread and many streams of influence from different sections flowed together into the great migration.

When Dr. Whitman reached the Missouri River he found that the wagon train had already started on its way. It consisted of nearly eight hundred loyal American settlers with two hundred wagons and two thousand horses and oxen, and had organized by electing as its leader Jesse Applegate, who was destined to become famous in later Oregon history. Dr. Whitman overtook the train and was at once appointed as its guide, for he was the only man who had been over the trail before. All that summer he rode ahead of it, selecting the camping places, warning them of danger, inspiring the faint-hearted and ministering to the sick. How indispensable Dr. Whitman had been in bringing the great wagon train to Oregon was told afterward by Jesse Applegate. "I would now fain pause to pay a passing tribute to that noble, devoted man, Dr. Whitman. His stay with us was transient, but the good he did was permanent. His great experience and indomitable energy were of priceless value to the migrating column, and it is no disparagement to others to say that to no individual are the immigrants of 1843 so much indebted for the successful conclusion of their journey as to Dr. Marcus Whitman."

The great train moved slowly westward across the prairies, through the Rocky Mountains, past the post of the protesting Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Hall, over the Blue Mountains to Waiilatpu, and down to the Willamette Valley. That wagon train blazed a trail so broad and clear across the continent that at once settlers began to pour westward in an unending stream. Soon the Americans vastly outnumbered the British, and when, by treaty, June 17, 1846, the Northwest boundary line was finally settled, it was drawn at the forty-ninth parallel and not at the mouth of the Columbia River, or perhaps at the forty-second parallel, the northern boundary of California. A vast region of immense natural resources had been saved to the United States by the wagon train of '43 and by the doctor who rode at its head, who had been prophet enough to foresee the value of the country and hero enough to risk his life to save it.

During the absence of Doctor Whitman in the East, the course of events had not moved smoothly at Waiilatpu. Mrs. Whitman was left there, and arrangements were made for William Geiger, a young man of Christian character who had come to the country in 1839, to take charge. But Dr. Whitman left so suddenly that Mr. Geiger, who was then in the Willamette Valley, did not arrive until after the Doctor left. Before he arrived, however, and only four days after the Doctor left, an Indian entered the house one night, and attempted to assault Mrs. Whitman. Her own efforts, and the presence of a young man in the house, defeated the at-

tempt, but when her friends heard of it they felt that it was not safe for her to stay there. Mr. McKinley of Fort Walla Walla, sent a wagon for her and she left the station to go to the Fort, shortly after going to the Methodist Mission at the Dalles, where she remained during the winter. Soon after she left Waiilatpu an Indian set fire to the grist mill, which was burned together with several hundred bushels of grain. Mrs. Whitman returned to Waiilatpu for a brief visit in the spring, when Dr. White held a conference there with the Indians, but after that she went down to the Willamette Valley and spent the summer with her friends of the Methodist Mission. Her health had been much impaired by the hardships which she had endured.

In the spring of 1843 a provisional government had been formed on the Willamette by the scanty majority of a single vote, in order to preserve the rights of the settlers and to hold the country, if possible, for the United States. The arrival of the great wagon train in the fall gave so great a majority to the Americans that thereafter the question of national ownership was not in doubt.

After the great wagon train had left the mission station at Waiilatpu, where it had rested and supplied itself with provisions, it traveled down the Columbia and out of the life of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman. This faithful couple, true to their original intention, settled down again as missionaries to the Indians, striving to do what they could for them intellectually, physically and morally. They quietly took up again their missionary work, healing the sick, teaching the young, advising and inspiring the tribes. During the first part of the next winter, 1844-45, there were but few Indians at the station, and the school was suspended, but, by the close of February, nearly all had returned, and two or three attended public worship. There was no marked change, but a gradual increase of knowledge and less attachment to paganism.

In 1844, the Doctor rebuilt his flour mill, and the same year built the saw mill in the Blue Mountains on Mill Creek about twenty miles above his station.

As teachers and assistants he had with him Mr. A. Hinman, during the winter 1844-45; Mr. William Geiger in 1845 and 1846; and Mr. Andrew Rodgers, an immigrant of 1845, from that time till the massacre. Mr. Rodgers, while there, began studying for the ministry with the expectation of becoming a missionary. Of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman and their work he wrote in 1846 as follows:

I think Mrs. Whitman is one of the best women in the world. She has a family of eleven children (and also one of Mr. Walker's during the winter) and, strange to say, not one of them is her own.

In a later letter he calls her "my mother." He also wrote:

I can hardly tell you what kind of a man the Doctor is, for he is much of an allsorts-of-a-man, yet a very kind, generous, persevering man. I suppose, as to taking the lead in missionary affairs, he takes the lead. Of the difficulties and trials of a missionary life, few of us in the States have any definite idea. Indeed, no one can well do so until he has been among them for some time. Those things that are regarded as trials at home (leaving home and friends) are not considered such at all when they get here. They have doubtless done much good here, but as respects temporal affairs more than spiritual. Not that they have not labored as much for the latter as the former—much more. But the natural heart is always and in every place averse to religion both in savage and civilized countries—Indians or white man.

Mrs. Whitman also wrote of her large family. As she had no child of her own, she had opened her heart to take care of those of others. In 1841 she had taken two half-breed girls, Mary Ann, the daughter of Capt. Jim Bridger (out of whose back the Doctor had cut the arrow in 1835) and Helen Mar, the daughter of Joseph L. Meek, another mountain man, who afterward became prominent in Oregon affairs. The next year she adopted a half-breed boy, two years old, named David Malan, whose father was a Spaniard, and who, abandoned by his Indian mother, had been cruelly treated by older Indian boys.

Among the immigrants of 1844 was a man named Sager, who had a family consisting of his wife and seven children all under thirteen years of age. The father had died of typhoid fever on Green River, and the mother sank under her burdens and died when she reached Snake River. The immigrants cared for the children until they reached Dr. Whitman's, but would take them no farther. The Doctor and his wife took the strangers in, at first for the winter, but afterwards adopted them and cared for them as long as they lived. One of these children, Mrs. C. S. Pringle, afterwards gave the following account of this event:

In April, 1844, my parents started for Oregon. Soon after starting we were all camped for the night, and the conversation after a while turned upon the probability of death before the end of the journey should be reached. All told what they would wish their families to do in case they should fall by the way. My father said, "Well, if I should die, I would want my family to stop at the station of Dr. Whitman." Ere long he was taken sick and died, but, with his dying breath, he committed his family to the care of Captain Shaw, with the request that they should be left at the station of Dr. Whitman. Twenty-six days after his death, his wife died. She, too, requested the same. When we were in the Blue Mountains, Captain Shaw went ahead to see about leaving us there. The Doc-

tor objected, as he was afraid the Board would not recognize that as a part of his labor. After a good deal of talk he consented to have the children brought, and he would see what could be done. On the seventeenth day of October we drove up to the station, as forlorn a looking lot of children as ever was. I was a cripple, hardly able to walk, and the babe of six months was dangerously ill. Mrs. Whitman agreed to take the five girls but the boys must go on (they were the oldest of the family). But the "mercenary" Doctor said, "All or none." He made arrangements to keep the seven until spring, and then, if we did not like to stay, and he did not want to keep us, he would send us below. An article of agreement was drawn up in writing between him and Captain Shaw, but not one word of money or pay was in it. I had it in my possession for years after I came to the (Willamette) Valley, having received it from Captain Shaw. Before Captain Shaw reached The Dalles he was overtaken by Dr. Whitman, who announced his intention of adopting the seven, as his own responsibility, asking nothing of the Board for their maintenance. The next summer he went to Oregon City and legally became our guardian, and the action is on the records of Clackamas County. Having done this, he further showed his "mercenary" nature by disposing of our father's estate in such a way that he could not realize a cent from it. He exchanged the oxen and old cows for young cows, and turned them over to the boys to manage until they should grow to manhood; besides this he gave them each a horse and saddle, which, of course, came out of his salary, as we were not mission children like the three half breeds were that were in the family. After doing all this he allowed the boys opportunities to accumulate stock by work or trade. Often he has said to us, "you must all learn to work, for father is poor and can give you nothing but an education. This I intend to do to the best of my ability."

The reference above to the "mercenary" doctor recalls the fact that some of the immigrants accused Dr. Whitman of being mercenary because he did not give his provisions and vegetables freely to the incoming settlers, but charged moderate prices for them. Since there were eight hundred settlers in the wagon train of '43, and many hundreds afterward, it is easy to understand how the Mission would have been impoverished if he had not adopted this policy. His prices were fair but he could not afford to give his supplies away.

Besides the seven Sager children there were one or two of Mr. Spalding's and Mr. Walker's children sent to them for the sake of the school. These, with the teacher and a few others stopping with them, sometimes made a family of twenty.

Another immigrant, Joseph Smith, who came in 1846, says,

I was mighty sick crossing the Blues, and was so weak from eating "blue mass" that they had to haul me in the wagon till we got to Dr. Whitman's place on the Walla Walla River. Then mother Whitman came and raised

the wagon cover and says, "What is the matter with you, my brother?" "I am sick, and I don't want to be pestered much, either." "But, my young friend, my husband is a doctor and can probably cure your ailment; I'll go and call him!" So off she clattered, and purty soon Doc came, and they packed me in the cabin, and soon he had me on feet again. I eat up a whole band of cattle for him, as I had to winter with him. I told him I'd like to work for him, to kinder pay part of my bill. Wall, Doc set me to making rails, but I only made two hundred before spring, and I got to worryin' 'cause I hadn't only fifty dollars, and a saddle horse, and I reckoned I owed the Doctor four or five hundred dollars for my life. Now, maybe I wasn't knocked out when I went and told the Doctor I wanted to go to Webfoot and asked him how we stood; and Doctor pointed to a Cayuse pony, and says, "Money I have not, but you can take that horse and call it even, if you will!"

Dr. Whitman still devoted himself to missionary labors with cheerfulness and assiduity. In May, 1847, he wrote, "We think the affairs of this station, in regard to the Indians, are in a very favorable state, such as gives promise of continued prosperity." There was, however, at this time much sickness among the Indians and he spent much time in administering to their wants, not forgetting, however, their spiritual necessities. It was his purpose to build a place of worship for the Indians, and also to build some store houses for their use. He was also anxious to provide means of grace for the white settlers who were crowding into the country. In his latest communication to the Board he dwelt with great earnestness on this topic, and was urgent that the American Home Missionary Society and American Tract Society should enter the field without delay. The destinies of Oregon, he thought, depended in a very important sense upon the influences which should be thrown into it during the first years of its history. At the last meeting of the mission which was to be held, it was decided to build more mission houses at their station so that the mission families could winter there and send their children to the school. This would take from Mrs. Whitman's hands a large amount of work occasioned by her boarding some of these mission children.

Jesuit missionaries had first come to the country in 1838, Vicar-General Francis Norbert Blanchet, and Father Modeste Demers arriving at Fort Walla Walla from Quebec on November 18, en route to Fort Vancouver. Their policy at first seems to have been to establish no permanent missions south of the Columbia River, but to devote themselves to the Hudson's Bay employes and to the Indians, counteracting the influence of the Protestant missionaries in the Willamette Valley and on the Walla Walla. They established missions on the Cowlitz and on the Nisqually, and, in

1842, among the Cœur d'Alenes. In 1845, Father F. N. Blanchet was appointed Archbishop of Oregon, with three sees under him at Oregon City, Vancouver and Walla Walla. Father A. M. A. Blanchet was appointed Bishop of Walla Walla but did not visit his diocese until October, 1847, when he established a mission on the Umatilla River, about forty miles from Waiilatpu. The differences in religious forms and methods between the Protestants and the Catholics caused much questioning among the Indians and aroused feeling between the representatives of the two faiths.

The history of Methodist missions had been discouraging. The Indians on the Willamette had largely vanished, one or two Indian scholars in their school had died, and this prejudiced the parents against it; other difficulties had arisen so that, in 1843, the Superintendent, Rev. Jason Lee, was superseded by Rev. George Gary.

The first news which Mr. Lee had of his dismissal was brought to him privately at The Dalles by his friend Dr. Whitman on his return from the East with the wagon train of '43. Having examined the field, in 1845 Gary closed all the missions among the Indians except the one at The Dalles. In 1847 this was transferred to the American Board, and the Methodist foreign missionary work in Oregon was ended.

In the meantime large immigrations had been coming every year, beginning with 1843, and the Willamette Valley was rapidly filling up. But it was evident that the coming of so great a tide of white settlers would disturb and terrify the Indians, who felt that they would be driven from their homes. They blamed Dr. Whitman for his part in hastening the tide, and consequently, the signing of the treaty in 1846, and the occupation of the country by the United States meant practically the signing of the death warrant of Dr. Whitman and his wife, although the Indians had been in the habit of calling Dr. Whitman "the good doctor" and had regarded Mrs. Whitman as an angel of mercy.

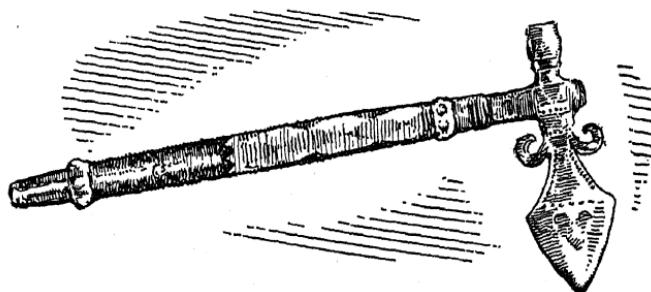
Measles broke out among the Indians near the mission in the fall of 1847. Dr. Whitman treated the patients among the Indians and among the visiting white immigrants with the same remedies, but some of the Indian patients died. Taking his remedies, they followed also the Indian custom of a sweat bath. In a low lodge of closely woven boughs by the bank of the river, water was poured on heated stones to make steam in which the sick were laid; emerging at last, dripping with sweat, they leaped into the ice cold stream, and when many of them died under this treatment it was whispered that Dr. Whitman had poisoned them. Indian custom dictated revenge.

On November 29, the discontent and hate which had gathered

like a storm suddenly broke. Dr. and Mrs. Whitman were killed and scalped. All the boys and men in the mission were also killed, while the women and children, some fifty in number, were held by the Indians for their own purposes and for ransom. In the lust for blood and destruction the mission buildings were burned down, the orchard was hacked to pieces and scarcely a vestige left of the mission station in which the good doctor and his wife had spent their lives for those who slew them.

The closing scene in the life of Dr. Whitman saw him in the rôle of physician ministering to the sick. Three Indians, wrapped in blankets, had come to the door of the mission and asked for medicine. As he bent over his medicine chest to select the proper remedy for the sick Indian, one of the others slipped behind him, raising his tomahawk, struck a glancing blow on the back of his head. The doctor leaped for the throat of the other Indian, but as he struggled the deadly tomahawk rose and fell, striking the doctor on the top of the head, penetrating the skull and inflicting a fatal wound. He died as the physician would like to die, in the act of service. Of him, too, it might be said that "he came, not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many."

Thus ended the life of "The Good Doctor," Marcus Whitman, at the age of forty-five, and of his noble wife, Narcissa Prentiss Whitman, at the age of thirty-nine. They died as soldiers of Christ at their post of duty, heroic to the end.





CHAPTER II

INTERLUDE

When the news of the Whitman massacre reached the scattered settlements in the Willamette Valley it was received with horror, dismay and fear. The number of Indians in the Northwest was so great and the number of white settlers so small that the apprehension of an Indian rising hung over the settlements like a pall.

Mr. McBean, then factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Walla Walla, immediately sent news of the terrible occurrence to Fort Vancouver, where Peter Skeen Ogden was now the chief factor. The news reached Chief Factor Ogden on or about December 7, and he promptly took measures for the rescue of the survivors, sending a letter to Governor Abernathy of the Provisional Government at Oregon City, where the Territorial Legislature was in session. Factor Ogden proceeded in person up the Columbia with a strong detachment of Hudson's Bay men and an ample supply of blankets and other articles likely to be needed for ransoming the captives. His long experience with Indians told him that only by the immediate payment of satisfactory ransom could the women and children in the hands of the savages be saved from death or a worse fate. When he reached Fort Walla Walla he learned that fifty-two white persons of the mission settlement at Waiilatpu had escaped the tomahawk, but of these, two children, Helen Mar Meek and Hannah S. Sager, had died a few days after the massacre. Mr. and Mrs. Osborne and their three children had escaped during the night of November 29, and, through great hardship and danger, had made their way to the Hudson's Bay post twenty-five miles away.

Factor Ogden called a council of the Indians and arranged for the ransom of their captives. He paid to the Cayuses fifty blankets, fifty shirts, ten guns, ten fathoms of tobacco, ten handkerchiefs, one hundred balls of powder. He also sent to the Nez Perces twelve

blankets, twelve shirts, twelve handkerchiefs, two guns and some knives to insure the safety of Mr. and Mrs. Spalding at Lapwai, although these two faithful missionaries remained with their friends, the Nez Perces, until the following March.

On January 1, 1848, Factor Ogden and the survivors, whom he had so humanely rescued, started in boats down the Columbia and reached Fort Vancouver and safety a few days later. The feelings of the survivors, as they made their way down the great river, can be imagined; joy, for their own safety; horror over the fate of the mission; and a sense of stupefaction, caused by the scenes which they had witnessed and the sufferings which they endured, with the ever-recurring thought of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, apparently abandoned by their God and the terrible blotting out of their life's work in blood and failure.

News of the massacre reached Governor Abernathy at Oregon City on December 8, 1847, through the letter from Peter Skeen Ogden. The Legislature was in session but there was only \$43.72 in the treasury. For the safety of the settlements it was felt that vengeance must be swiftly executed upon the murderers and the danger of an Indian uprising promptly quelled by vigorous measures. On the personal guaranty of Governor Abernathy, Jesse Applegate and A. L. Lovejoy, supplies for a contingent of troops to the value of \$1,000 were supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company. An additional \$5,000 was secured, mostly in provisions loaned by the settlers. The same day a company of riflemen was raised, was officered and equipped the next, and pushed forward to The Dalles at once. In the next thirty days a regiment was raised with Cornelius Gilliam as its Colonel.

The first skirmish with the Indians took place the last of January near the present Celilo, from The Dalles as a base. The next fight of importance did not occur until late in February, 1848, a little below the mouth of the Umatilla River. The cause of the delay in action was the troublesome conduct of Indians who had taken no part in the massacre. Friendly Indians employed artifices to delay the troops and enable the Cayuses to move their families and stock out of danger. As the troops continued their way to the Walla Walla River the Indians hung on their flank up on the bluffs, but did not attack. On the last day of February the Volunteers reached the Walla Walla, and on March 2 made camp near the site of Waiilatpu mission. Colonel Gilliam with two companies visited the mission ground and the next day moved camp to its site. They found the remains of the bodies scattered about, half devoured by the coyotes. They reverently reburied them in a new and deeper grave and put a wagon box over the top to protect

them from the wolves. After delaying a week at Waiilatpu, the army of about two hundred and seventy again advanced and on the bank of the Tucanon met the Palouses, allies of the Cayuses. The whites were victorious, killing four Indians, wounding fourteen, and losing only one man themselves.

In all these skirmishes the Volunteers had been successful, but it was apparent that the two hundred and seventy men were inadequate for a campaign. They decided to build forts, leave enough men to garrison them, and let the rest harvest the crops at home and raise another regiment. Colonel Waters was left in charge of the fort and men at Waiilatpu. Troops came and went from the Willamette to the Walla Walla during the summer, but little active service was done except the escorting of the Eells and Walker families from Colville, near Spokane, to The Dalles. Fifty men, under Captain Martin, remained at Waiilatpu, largely due to the promises made by Colonel Waters that the Volunteers could take up land claims in the Cayuse territory. Governor Abernathy approved these promises and thus began the first settlements in what is now eastern Washington. The Volunteers repaired the mill at Waiilatpu, raised several hundred bushels of grain during the summer, held control of the Cayuse country, marked out claims for themselves on the best lands, and patrolled the immigrant road which was of great service to the immigration of 1848.

The news of the Whitman massacre affected the political history of Oregon Territory. Word of it was carried by special courier to Washington, D.C., and stirred Congress to grant to the remote Pacific Northwest the organization and protection which it had long sought in vain. On August 14, 1848, Oregon Territory was organized and Joseph Lane appointed its first Governor. It included the region from the northern boundary of California, the forty-second parallel of latitude, to the new international boundary line, the forty-ninth parallel, and from the summits of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. From this vast territory the states of Oregon, Washington and Idaho were afterwards created.

In March, 1849, General Lane, the new Territorial Governor, arrived in Oregon City. He began negotiations at once for the surrender of the Whitman murderers. The humbling given them by the Volunteers at Waiilatpu, the large influx of immigrants, the stopping of sales of ammunition to the Indians—all contributed to cause the Cayuses to make the surrender. Five members of the tribes were taken from The Dalles to Oregon City to be tried. The verdict rendered against the Indians was "guilty," and they were hanged June 3, 1850. Thus ended the Cayuse War to avenge the Whitman massacre.

Since the great wagon train of 1843, the tide of immigration had flowed steadily into Oregon, although the discovery of gold in California in 1849 turned a flood of prospectors and settlers to the south. In 1850 Congress passed the Donation Act in order to stimulate the settlement of the new Territory. It gave six hundred and forty acres of land to every new settler, without any regard to the rights of the Indians, who were occupying the Territory, and it was inevitable that trouble would arise sooner or later from these conflicting claims. The census of 1850 showed Oregon Territory as having a population of 8,785 Americans and 298 foreigners.

As the population increased it spread north of the Columbia River and extended to Puget Sound. The settlers on Puget Sound were remote from the Territorial capital at Oregon City and found it difficult to be represented in the Territorial Legislature. After a year or more of discussion, on November 25, 1852, a meeting was held at Cowlitz Landing, or Monticello, near the mouth of the Cowlitz River, attended by forty-four delegates, at which a memorial to Congress was adopted, asking for the separate organization of the "Territory of Columbia." A similar memorial from the Oregon Legislature, endorsing the organization of a separate territory, was soon afterwards adopted and sent to Washington. When presented to Congress, Representative Stanton of Kentucky objected to the proposed name and suggested the "Territory of Washington." Congress approved a bill for the organization of a Territory with the latter name, and the bill was signed by President Millard Fillmore on March 2, 1853. News of the bill reached Olympia in the latter part of April.

The boundaries of the Territory were the Pacific Ocean on the west, and summits of the Rocky Mountains on the east, the forty-ninth parallel of latitude on the north, as adopted by treaty with Great Britain in 1846, and on the south a line which followed the mid-channel of the Columbia River from its mouth to the point where it intersected the forty-sixth parallel of latitude, thence eastward to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. It therefore included all of the present state of Washington and those portions of Idaho and Montana west of the Rockies which are north of the forty-sixth parallel. Its white population was almost entirely west of the Cascades, and amounted to little more than three thousand persons, though the number of settlers thereafter rapidly increased.

The new Territory was fortunate in its first Governor. Franklin Pierce became the nineteenth President of the United States on March 4, 1853, and, ten days after his inauguration, appointed

Major Isaac Stevens of the United States Engineer Corps to be Governor of Washington Territory and Superintendent of its Indian affairs. The appointment came as an acknowledgment of the service which Major Stevens had rendered to Pierce in his election campaign.

Governor Stevens was born at Andover, Massachusetts, March 25, 1818, of an outstanding New England family, being seventh in descent from John Stevens, founder of the town of Andover. He graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point, the head of his class, and with the highest standing ever attained by a student there. He served in the Engineer Corps of the United States Army, and, after distinguished service during the Mexican War, in the Coast Survey from 1848-1852. He was thirty-four years old at the time of his appointment as Governor, and for four years he served the Territory with amazing energy and rare intelligence. On his election to Congress in 1857 he resigned the Governorship and was for the next four years a member of Congress in Washington, until with the outbreak of the Civil War, he offered himself to the Government, was appointed Colonel and later won the rank of General. He was killed in the battle of Chantilly, September 1, 1862, while gallantly leading his troops into action. No western state had a more brilliant, honest and capable Governor than General Stevens, whose services in laying the foundations of the commonwealth will never be forgotten. He was only forty-four when he died, after a career of distinguished usefulness in the service of his country.

With characteristic energy and zeal Governor Stevens asked also to be appointed head of the expedition to explore the route for a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean across the northern part of the continent. When appointed to this position of great responsibility, he immediately organized the expedition and, with unexampled speed and skill, drove it across the prairies and mountains from Minnesota to Washington during the summer and fall of 1853. The building of the Northern Pacific Railway in later years followed, in the main, the lines of this military survey, of which an elaborate and fascinating record was made by Stevens in his report to Congress.

Governor Stevens reached eastern Washington on October 18, 1853, and, after entrusting the survey of a route across the Cascade Mountains to his junior officer, Captain George B. McClellan, proceeded by way of Walla Walla and The Dalles to Olympia, the Territorial capital, where he arrived on November 25. He found a little village of a few hundred population, at the head of navigation on Puget Sound, and here he at once began

with characteristic energy to organize the government and to promote the welfare of the settlers.

The problem which weighed most heavily upon his active mind was that caused by the small number of white settlers and the large number of the Indians whose tribes occupied the vast region which was included in Washington Territory from the Pacific to the Rocky Mountains. In 1854 there were 3,965 white persons in the Territory, all of them west of the Cascade Mountains except a few scattered cattle men and prospectors in the great eastern basin, known later as the Inland Empire. There were three cattle men at Waiilatpu, Bumford, Noble and Brooks; William Craig among the Nez Perces, and a few prospectors near Colville, but the Cayuse War had left the eastern country abandoned to the Indians except for the Jesuit missions among the Cœur d'Alenes and on the Umatilla. The Hudson's Bay Company had retired from the field, having been bought out by the United States Government.

The Indian tribes were numerous, and some of them, the Yakimas and the Nez Perces, were large and influential. Only the Nez Perces were steadfast in their friendship to the white men, having remained loyal since the first visit of Captains Lewis and Clark to them in 1805. The total number of Indians was carefully estimated by Governor Stevens from all reliable sources of information as 21,712, including the many small tribes on Puget Sound and the larger tribes of the horse-riding Indians east of the Cascades: the Nez Perces numbered 3,309; the Cayuses 500; the Walla Wallas and Umatillas 1,000; the Yakimas 3,900; the Spokanes, 2,200; the Cœur d'Alenes 500; and the Flatheads, Pend Oreilles and Kootenays 2,250.

The stream of American settlers was steadily pouring into the country, and conflict with these Indians was sooner or later inevitable. Much of the great basin east of the Cascades was fertile and attractive for homes with a hospitable climate and vast prairies covered with tall and nutritious bunch grass, a paradise for horses and cattle. When once the stream should be turned into that inviting land who could foretell the troubles that might ensue? Governor Stevens was also Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Territory and he conceived the bold plan of persuading the Indians to live on reservations to be determined by treaties with the several tribes, and sell the land which the Indians would no longer use to the United States Government for the use of its citizens. He immediately undertook to hold councils with the Indians to determine the boundaries of their several reservations and the payments which they should receive from the Federal

Government. The main principles in this bold and original policy were these:

1. To concentrate the Indians upon a few reservations and encourage them to cultivate the soil and adopt settled and civilized habits.

2. To pay them for their lands not in money but in annuities of blankets, clothing, and useful articles during a long term of years.

3. To furnish them with schools, teachers, farmers, and farm implements, blacksmiths and carpenters, with shops of those trades.

4. To prohibit wars and disputes among them.

5. To abolish slavery.

6. To stop as far as possible the use of liquor.

7. As the change from savage to civilized habits must be necessarily gradual, they were to retain the right of fishing places and hunting, gathering berries and roots, and pasturing stock on unoccupied land as long as it remained vacant.

8. At some future time, when they should have become fitted for it, the lands of the reservations were to be allotted to them in severalty.

In December, 1854, only a year after his arrival at Olympia, he began holding, in swift succession, a series of councils with all the Indian tribes from the Pacific Ocean to the Missouri River. He presided in person at each of these councils, attended by a handful of white men and accompanied by suitable interpreters and secretaries. When east of the mountains he had the support of a company of United States Cavalry, accompanied by wagons, teamsters and the necessary camp workers. His life was often in danger from exposure to the elements and from the treachery of some of the Indian chiefs. But he pursued his course with driving determination and always attained his object. There was no attempt at compulsion, but always the objects of the proposed treaty were explained carefully by skilled interpreters and ample time was given for discussion. It is probable that some of the more powerful chiefs who signed his treaties did not intend to keep them, but they signed to avoid suspicion and perhaps to lull the white man into a false sense of security. Governor Stevens devoted the second year of his administration to this all-important work. He held councils on the following dates with the several tribes at strategic points on Puget Sound. The record of the Indians in attendance at each council is taken from Governor Steven's own account.

1. At She-nah-nam, or Medicine Creek, now known as Mc-

Allister's Creek (along the south side of Nisqually bottom). December 24-26, 1854. Seven hundred Indians of the upper Sound, including the Nisqually, Puyallup and Squaxon tribes.

2. At Mukilteo, or Point Elliott, January 12-22, 1855. The Indians of the east side of the Sound to the number of 2,500, headed by Chief Seattle.

3. Treaty of Hahd-Skus, or Point-no-Point. January 24-25. 1,300 Indians of west side.

4. Council of Neah Bay. January 30-31. Northwest and Pacific Coast Indians of the Makah tribes.

5. The Chehalis Council. Chehalis River just above Grays Harbor. February 25. Representatives of the Chinooks, Chehalis, Quenault, Quaitso, Satsop, upper Chehalis and Cowlitz. 843 from all of the interior, Quenault and Quillahute tribes together signed a treaty later in March, 1859. Members 493. Chinook, Chehalis and Cowlitz, 1,115.

6. Council at Walla Walla, May 28-June 16. Ten tribes. 5,000.

7. The Flathead Council, July 9. Three tribes, Flatheads, Pend Oreilles, Kootenays, all part of the Salish tribe. 2,000.

8. The Blackfoot Council, October 16. On the Missouri River near the mouth of the Judith, in Nebraska, now Montana. The Piegan, Floods, Blackfeet and Cros Ventres made up the Blackfeet nation, 11,500; Nez Perce, 2,500; Flathead, 2,000. Total 16,000. Represented at Council by the 3,500 chiefs and leading men present.

Of these councils conducted by the dynamic Governor, the most picturesque and important were those held in May, near Waiilatpu, and in October, with the Blackfeet on the Missouri River. The Council in May was held on the right bank of Mill Creek six miles east of the destroyed Whitman mission at Waiilatpu, and was up to that time probably the largest gathering of Indians, for the purpose, known to be held on the American continent. Five thousand Indians were assembled on the site of what was later to become the city of Walla Walla; 2,500 Nez Perces and 2,500 other Indians of the Yakima, Walla Walla, Cayuse and Umatilla tribes. The Nez Perces camped around the headwaters of the little stream which now flows across the campus of Whitman College, while the other tribes who were less friendly camped together on the Yellowhawk, two miles to the south. The council lasted for two weeks, during which the lives of Governor Stevens and of the ninety-eight white men of his party were frequently in danger. When at last the Nez Perce tribe, led by Chief Lawyer, signed the treaty and accepted the new reservation policy, the other tribes followed their example with assumed cordiality, but the great

Yakima chief, Kamiahkan, while signing for his tribe, only waited for the chance to take the white men by surprise and drive them from the country.

Flushed with this success, Governor Stevens hastened eastward across the mountains to the Missouri, negotiating treaties with the Flatheads on July 9, and with the great Blackfoot Confederacy on October 16.

Such a succession of brilliant victories might well give a sense of confidence to the bold Governor, who immediately turned westward to retrace his steps and strengthen the hearts of his Indian allies. But late at night on October 29, an exhausted messenger, W. H. Pearson, reached him with terrible news: that the Cayuses, Yakimas, Walla Wallas, Umatillas, Palouses and all the Oregon bands down to The Dalles, the very ones who had signed the treaties of friendship at the Walla Walla Council, had broken out in open war. They had swept the upper country clean of whites, had murdered settlers, miners and Indian Agent Bolon, and had forced one hundred regular troops under Major Haller to retreat from the Yakima country, with a loss of a third of the men and a howitzer.

The Governor and his party set out at once to traverse the thousand miles across the mountains by forced marches. Meanwhile, all was terror back in the Walla Walla country. Nathan Olney, Indian Agent at Fort Walla Walla, in October sent a proclamation to the settlers in the Walla Walla and Umatilla Valleys. He told them that the Indians were rising and that he had written to the commanding officer at The Dalles for a military force to escort the settlers out of the country. "You will," he said, "hold yourselves in readiness to go on the arrival of such an escort. Do not rush all at once and so alarm the Indians." The following month the Umatilla Chief, Yellow Serpent, forcibly took possession of Fort Walla Walla, pillaged it and then burned and pillaged Mr. Brook's house at Wailatpu.

Governor Stevens moved so rapidly that he surprised the Cœur d'Alenes and Spokanes before they had time to kill him on his return. He made a visit of friendship to the Nez Perces and took an escort of young warriors with him to Walla Walla. A force of five hundred Oregon volunteers under Colonel Kelly, had cleared the way in December by routing the rebellious Indians in a series of encounters lasting four days, and known as the Battle of the Walla Walla. On December 20, Stevens, with his escort, arrived in the Walla Walla Valley.

In January, 1856, Stevens returned to Olympia to find the country west of the Cascades aflame with war. But we shall confine

our account to what happened east of the Cascades in the Walla Walla country. The Governor's policy for both sections was the same: to punish severely every uprising and to prevent the Indians from uniting. The general situation in the Upper Country in the beginning of the year 1856 was that the Indians held the whole region, except the fort in the Walla Walla Valley, occupied by the Oregon Volunteers; that the Indians were more hostile, active and triumphant than ever; and that the regulars were on the defensive by General Wool's orders, while the Volunteers in the Valley were unable to take the aggressive for lack of the supplies which General Wool would not furnish.

It was unfortunate for the immediate development of the Inland Empire that the influence of the officers of the regular army of the United States should be opposed to the settlers, and it was still more unfortunate that from 1854 to 1857 the Department of the Pacific, with headquarters at San Francisco, should be commanded by General John E. Wool, a septuaginarian, with the settled convictions and prejudices of an old army officer. General Wool had superintended the removal of the Cherokees to the Indian territory in 1836 and had doubtless sympathized with the unfortunate members of an ill-fated race. He clashed with Governor Stevens when the latter met him in San Francisco, and thereafter seemed to oppose any requests from the latter for ammunition or supplies during the Indian uprisings of 1855. General Wool, like the gentlemen officers of the regular army, did not like the rough clad, untrained, and often uncouth, immigrants who came pouring into the new territory, and he believed that they ought not to invade the land which had been occupied immemorially by the Indians. It was not until 1857, after Wool's transfer from the Department of the Pacific to the Department of the East at Troy, New York, that the regular army took an active part in punishing Indian marauders, suppressing their dangerous insubordination and enforcing the reservation policy which they had approved.

Governor Stevens and the settlers regarded General Wool as unfriendly and as definitely opposed to the settlement of the Upper Country. An army order was issued to this effect, which continued in force until November, 1858, when his successor, General Nathaniel Clark, gave orders that the Upper Country should be thrown open to white settlers.

The best view of the situation in 1856 is given in the Government Documents for that year, particularly the reports of Governor Stevens. In May he wrote that the Walla Walla country must be held, communication re-established with the Nez Perce auxiliaries, a winter campaign waged, and war ended.

"The Indians are hoodwinking Colonel Wright of the regulars, who is dallying in the Yakima country."

General Wool, however, wrote, "The Colonel (Wright) thinks that he will soon make peace, with or without fighting. We shall have no enemies to contend with but the exterminators of the Indian race."

In June, on the contrary, Governor Stevens wrote, "The long delay of Colonel Wright on the Nachez and his entertaining propositions of peace before striking the enemy, in connection with the withdrawal of the Oregon Volunteers, has embolded the Indians and has probably enabled them to effect a general combination of the tribes."

Again, in July, he wrote, "Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw, in moving to Walla Walla, will strike the hostiles wherever he finds them. On occupying the Walla Walla Valley he is directed to reduce to unconditional submission any hostilities within reach. This decisive policy is believed, by me, indispensable to secure the permanent peace of the Indian country."

Yet again, in August, he wrote, "Colonel Shaw defeated a large force of Indians on the Grande Ronde. I will withdraw the volunteers, as I hear that Colonel Wright is sending four companies under Colonel Steptoe to occupy Walla Walla. I push forward to Walla Walla to establish friendly relations with the Indians."

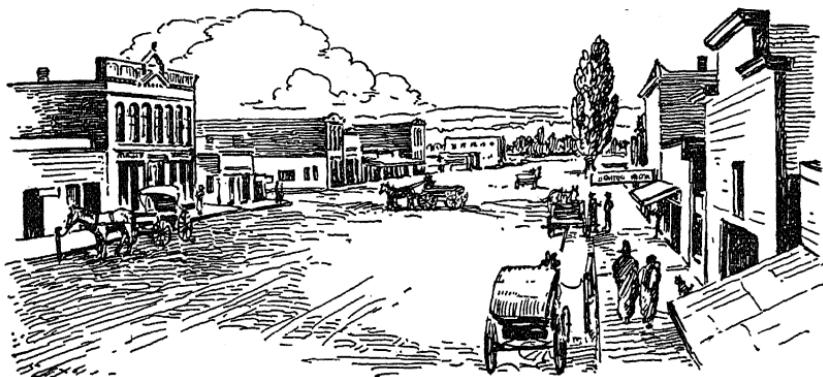
The arrival of Governor Stevens at Fort Walla Walla was the occasion of the second Walla Walla Council. The council grounds were somewhere between Waiilatpu and Walla Walla and the council opened September 11. Colonel Steptoe of the regulars had his camp on Mill Creek, but he gave Governor Stevens no assistance until the Indians actually attacked. He had been imbued with General Wool's ideas of the war. Separately the two commanders had talks with the Indians but to no avail. The Indians attacked Governor Stevens on his way to The Dalles and burned the grass and attacked the camp of Colonel Steptoe. This attack definitely changed the views of Colonel Steptoe. He joined forces with Governor Stevens to fight the Indians, and the combined force went to The Dalles, arriving there October 2. On October 30, 1857, Colonel Wright sent in formal notice to headquarters in California that he had selected for a winter camp a spot on Mill Creek, six miles from its junction with the Walla Walla. "Troops are busily employed in erecting temporary quarters. The blockhouse, storehouse, hospital, and company huts are well advanced: they will be completed within ten days and the huts for the officers by November 20." This fort was on the north bank of Mill Creek, where Main Street now crosses it.

In May, 1858, Colonel Steptoe set out from his new Fort Walla Walla, across the Snake River, into the Palouse country. There he was attacked unexpectedly by a large band of Indians, so that, to save the remnant of his force, he was obliged to beat a retreat by night back to Walla Walla. This disastrous affair was the final spur which quickened Colonel Wright into relentless activity, and was the first engagement in the final campaign of the war.

In August an expedition against the northern Indians began, with the troops leaving the Fort for Dry Creek. Colonel Wright had spent the previous month in "talks" with the Nez Perces, and had secured their continued friendship. In August and September he fought two successful battles near the present city of Spokane, one called the Battle of the Four Lakes, and the other the Battle of the Spokane Plains. The humbled Indians were then ready for councils. These Colonel Wright held first with the Cœur D'Alenes and the Spokanes. The War collapsed when the two Yakima chiefs, Owhi and Qualchien, were brought into camp and hanged. Colonel Wright then continued his triumphal way back to Fort Walla Walla, hanging the leaders of the uprising as he went, sixteen in all.

In October the campaign was over, and the commanding officer proclaimed the country safe and again open to settlement. The period of Indian fighting had come to an end.

Eleven years had passed since the Whitman massacre, the murder of Doctor and Mrs. Whitman had been avenged, and the land of their adoption to which they had come for the sake of the Indians, had passed into the permanent possession of the white man. But the great grave at Waiilatpu in which Doctor and Mrs. Whitman were buried lay desolate and neglected as though they had been forgotten by God and man.



CHAPTER III

THE GROWTH OF A WESTERN TOWN

The traveler who visited the Walla Walla Valley in the fall of 1858 would have found an empty land. The Indians had been driven to the reservations which had been assigned to them in the Treaty of 1855, and for years white settlers had been forbidden by the Army to enter the region. The cattle and horses which once had grazed on the luxuriant bunch grass in the days of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Whitman Mission had disappeared. Only the United States dragoons, commanded by Colonel Wright, were in possession of the land, occupying a stockade on the east bank of Mill Creek where it is crossed by the great Nez Perce trail, but preparing to remove therefrom to the new military reservation which had been appropriated a mile to the west, and including the broad-topped hill on which the buildings of a new Fort Walla Walla were in process of construction.

It was on Christmas Day of 1856 that Colonel Steptoe and his troops had begun the erection of barracks on the east side of Mill Creek where it was crossed by the Indian trail which led to the land of the Nez Perces. In the spring of the following year a trader, William McWhirk, pitched his tent across the stream from the barracks on what was to become, within five years, the main street of the largest town in Washington Territory, the city of Walla Walla. Other traders and settlers came into the valley, at first one by one, pitching their tents or building shacks on either side of the trail, until there began to be the semblance of a settlement. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that there were two settlements, one close to the old barracks, and the other close

to the new army post a mile to the west. A group of saloons and a store constituted what was known as the "half-way house" which hoped to become the center of the infant town. There was keen rivalry between the two. But the first slowly gained in strength and steadily increased in size until it had absorbed its former rival.

For one who has seen the present city of Walla Walla, with its broad paved streets and comfortable homes set in grassy lawns with trees everywhere, great elms, maples and locusts, surrounded by a fertile valley of many tree-lined streams and orchards, and wheat fields stretching up the foothills to the very summit of the Blue Mountains, it is hard to realize what the Walla Walla Valley looked like in the spring of 1859 when the first settlers began to occupy it. It was in November of the previous year that General Clark, who had succeeded General Wool as Commander of the United States Army on the Pacific Coast, had announced at Fort Vancouver, on learning of Colonel Wright's overwhelming defeat of the Indians, that the upper country was now again open for settlement, and it was with the first beginning of spring that a few men, eager to possess some of the fertile land along the streams on the rich bunch grass prairies, began to move into the vacant territory.

An Indian trail, the historic trail of the Nez Perces, led from the Columbia along the Walla Walla River up Mill Creek towards the mountains, and then north and east across the Touchet and the Tukannon, along the Pataha and the Alpowa to the Snake and the Clearwater. This winding trail kept on the north side of the Walla Walla and crossed Mill Creek twice before it turned northward to avoid the mountains.

Colonel Steptoe had built the stockade and cabins which constituted a new Fort Walla Walla along the Nez Perce trail just after it had crossed Mill Creek for the second time. The new settlers pitched their tents and built their shacks along the trail on the west side of Mill Creek, and it naturally became the main street of the new settlement.

A young man and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. A. B. Roberts, drove their wagon along the trail during the summer of 1859, and described later their impressions as they viewed their future home.

As we entered the village of Walla Walla we crossed a low swale where some willows grew to the right and, ascending a slight elevation, we found on our right a long low building made of split timber, covered with clapboards and occupied by Neil McGlinchey, who had a general stock of settlers' and Indian supplies. This was near what is now the corner of Third and Main Streets. We also met Lew McMorris, freighter, who had his headquarters at the McGlinchey store. A little farther on was a whisky

shop, owned by James Galbreath, whose wife and family were on a ranch some seven miles up Mill Creek. A little farther on we found a small shack, which was occupied by Chapman & Shafter as a butcher shop.

Back a little and on the north side of the road, on the ground now occupied by the Schwabacher Company, was a very fine building of whipsawed lumber, used by Baldwin brothers as a boarding house for themselves and employees, and which was the only house where strangers and travelers could find accommodation; a little farther on was the store of Baldwin Brothers, quite a large lumber building, and well stocked with a general supply of merchandise. Baldwin Brothers were known as licensed traders and up to the previous November they were the only traders of any extent in the country except the Sutler's store, which, of course, was on the reservation at the garrison and was owned by Green, Heath and Allen. A little farther up the street was a Frenchman, who had a small stock of goods in a shack built with poles on end, and still a little farther was Dick Racket with a tin shop built also with poles and covered with split boards.

Crossing the creek, we found many log buildings built square and hip-roofed and thatched with rye straw, and some old stockade stables, known as the "Cantonment," from which the troops were just moving to their new quarters one and one-fourth miles away.

The causes which led a stream of settlers to flow into the valley in ever increasing numbers were the opportunities which the Homestead Act offered for acquiring homes on the bottom lands of the well-watered valley, the proximity of the Fort, not so much for safety as for the market which it would afford for the products of the farms, and the advantage of the land for cattle raising.

Although the Walla Walla Valley lies above the 46th parallel of latitude, it enjoys a mild though variable climate, determined by the Blue Mountains which form its eastern border, and by the prevailing south and southwest winds. At an average elevation of one thousand feet above sea level it is protected from violent storms of wind and only rarely is subject to extremes of cold. Its isothermal line is that of northern Virginia. The seasons merge gradually into one another, avoiding sudden changes, and the snows of winter quickly disappear before the warm breath of the Chinook wind. The rainfall ranges from ten inches annually at the Columbia River to twenty inches or more on the foothills, distributed equally throughout the year except for the two dry months of July and August. Although in summer the temperature rises occasionally to impressive heights, the dryness of the air causes a rapid evaporation of moisture on the skin so that the sensible temperature is far below the thermometer. If the days are hot they are followed almost invariably by cool nights, the average range of daily temperature being more than twenty-five

degrees. Violent winds and tornadoes are unknown, the mild Chinook being characteristic of the region.

The name, Walla Walla, is probably onomatopoetic, imitating the rippling of water and fitly describing the many streams which flow through the valley and empty into the Walla Walla River. Today these streams flow through a rich farm land, but in 1859 the land was desolate, and only cottonwoods, poplar, birch and alders marked the courses of the streams.

The little settlement grew in numbers on both sides of the Indian trail, which was named Main Street, and, for several years, this was the only street which bore a name. First Avenue, south of Main Street, began to be recognized as a street in 1861, but Second Avenue was only an alley for several years. Alder Street, parallel to Main on the south, was only a wagon trail across the empty prairie to the distant Fort.

Several hundred people were in the settlement by Mill Creek in the fall of 1859 and, after much discussion, decided upon a name for the village. There were those who favored calling it Steptoeville, in honor of Colonel Steptoe, the United States commander, who had suffered disaster at the hands of the Indians in 1858. Others were for calling it Wailatpu, after the mission settlement of Dr. Whitman six miles to the westward, where the Whitman massacre in 1847 had seemed to end the hope of white settlement and domination. Neither of these names could win a majority of the votes. The name of Walla Walla was chosen at last for reasons which cannot now be traced, for the town was four miles from the Walla Walla River and was in territory which no more belonged to the Walla Walla Indians than to the Cayuses or the Umatillas. In November, 1859, the town was officially named, although it did not obtain a charter from the Territorial Legislature until January 11, 1862.

Business sprang up with the Fort, growing out of the need of furnishing supplies to the soldiers. Williams Stevens (familiarly known as "Uncle Billy") established a general merchandise store at Second and Main, now the Baker-Boyer Bank, in October, 1859. The first flour mill was built in 1859 by John A. Sims and Captain Dent (a brother-in-law of General U. S. Grant), upon Yellowhawk Creek on the land now known as the Whitney place. A. H. Reynolds was millwright and superintendent of construction of this mill.

The Schwabacher brothers, Louis and Sigmund, came up from San Francisco in 1860 and established a general store which bore their names for many years, and, by its steady growth, testified to their ability and integrity as merchants.

In 1862, the North Pacific Flour Mills, first called "Excelsior," were built by H. P. Isaacs at the east end of Boyer Avenue on land now belonging to the city, and known as "Wildwood Park."

The growing town would doubtless have had the same sort of history as other farming towns around a military post, slow-growing, substantial, and law-abiding, had it not been for a tremendous event—the discovery of gold in the mountains to the east—which transformed its character almost over night. Captain E. D. Pierce of California had penetrated the mountains of what is now northern Idaho in the fall of 1860, and had emerged in the spring of the following year with actual new found gold in his possession. The news spread like wildfire along the entire Pacific Coast, and soon eager men from Oregon and California and all parts of the world were pouring through the little town on their way to the gold diggings. It has been estimated that twenty-five thousand men rode up Main Street in the summer of 1861 in quest of fortune. Many of them stopped in the town to purchase miners' supplies, and the stores, as well as the saloons, did an amazing business. When winter began to set in the miners returned, and many of them made Walla Walla their winter quarters, waiting until they could return to their mining camps. Others went on down the river to Portland and their homes, bearing with them the gold which they had found. In one year it is said that seven million dollars passed through the town, and several more millions were taken out by other routes.

The mining camps of Idaho and western Montana could be reached most easily from Walla Walla. A newly-opened road by Captain Mullan, from Walla Walla to Fort Benton, Montana, begun by the Government in 1859, made travel easier and safer. From 1861 until the discovery of gold in the Boise Basin to the south, Walla Walla was more like a Bret Harte mining camp than a farming town. No gold was ever discovered in its vicinity, but the gold seekers changed the character of its population. They spent money freely for the indulgence of their vices, and during these years, from 1861 to 1865, the characteristic institutions were the saloon, the gambling den and the brothel, rather than the stores which carried on the business of the town. Passions ran high and every man carried a pistol. Murders were frequent. To gamblers and the tough men of the mines were added horse thieves, cattle thieves and the worst elements of so-called civilization. Law and order were swept aside and law-abiding citizens held their peace, rejoicing, perhaps, in the sudden prosperity which drenched the town, but afraid to express their disapproval of the violence which reigned by day and by night. Not until

1865, when the tide of gold seekers had begun to ebb, did the moral sentiment latent in the community begin to assert itself by the secret organization of The Vigilantes, who hung the most notorious thieves, gamblers and murderers, and set up a reign of terror among the lawless element. The community began to recover its moral balance, but the effects of its long lawlessness remained. Saloons and their adjuncts deeply affected the life of the town, developing in the minds even of the best men an easy-going tolerance which accepted vice, if not crime, as a necessary consequence of civilization.

A second event which had far-reaching influence, though neither so profound nor so lasting as the discovery of gold, was the terrific winter of 1861-1862. The first settlers had thought that the Walla Walla Valley was an ideal land for the raising of cattle, and great herds grazed on the foothills and prairies covered with bunch grass, most nutritious of foods. Cattle could be left to themselves both winter and summer, needing no shelter and no winter food. Suddenly these expectations, based on long experience with the mild climate of the Inland Empire, were shocked by a winter of unexampled severity. Snow began to fall in December and covered the ground in ever-increasing depth through March and into April. The thermometer fell to twenty-nine below zero and continued below zero for several weeks. The snow was too deep and was too hard crusted for the cattle to paw their way through. When spring came at last, practically all the cattle in the valley had starved to death. Dreams of fortune had vanished and the homesteaders, without stock and with their fruit trees destroyed by the cold, took up a long, hard fight against poverty to establish their homes more securely. From this time on their attention was turned towards farming and the growing of grain. Wheat, instead of cattle, became the chief product of the valley.

The first settlers took up homesteads along the many streams which are characteristic of the Walla Walla Valley. They supposed that only the land in the bottoms could be cultivated, and it was not until 1872-1874 that the fertility of the uplands for raising wheat was demonstrated by Dr. D. S. Baker. Till then the valley was supposed to be destined for stock raising, and its rolling slopes were unbroken by fences. The transformation of the valley from a stock-raising to a wheat-raising region was the work of the '70's and '80's.

Wheat production from 1860-1881 is indicated by the following facts: cultivation was begun in 1860 on Russell Creek; by 1863, 4,782 acres were under cultivation in the valley, and in 1868 this had increased to 9,249 acres. Six years later the total amounted

to 20,760 acres, which, by 1879, had more than doubled to the figure of 46,557 acres devoted to wheat raising. In 1881, Dr. N. G. Blalock planted 1,000 acres in upland wheat and harvested 51,000 bushels. As early as 1865 7,000 barrels of flour were exported from the valley, and in the succeeding year no less than five flour mills were in operation.

Orchards also began to be planted, the first fruit trees being brought to the valley by Ransom Clark in 1858. His son Charles says, "We set out some of our fruit trees . . . the first after those that had been raised from seed by Dr. Whitman at Waiilatpu." Philip Ritz established a nursery in 1861.

Newspapers, of course, sprang up during the early years of the town's life, most of them to live for a few years and then pass into oblivion. The earliest newspaper to be published was *The Washington Statesman*, the first issue of which appeared on November 29, 1861, under the management of William N. and R. B. Smith, N. Northrop and R. R. Rees. The first two had conceived the idea of a newspaper and had purchased the material and press of *The Oregon Statesman*, but, two days after delivery of the press had been made to them in Walla Walla, they found that a disused press of *The Oregonian* had been received by Messrs. Northrop and Rees. Learning of their rivals' intentions, and realizing that the publication of two newspapers in the infant town was impracticable, they merged their interests and published jointly a paper whose pages throw interesting light on the early history of the community. Its name was changed to *The Walla Walla Statesman* in 1865, when William H. Newell became its proprietor and editor. It became a Democratic paper after 1866, when it was made the official organ for the support of President Andrew Johnson in his contest with the United States Senate. It was published weekly until, in 1869, the experiment of a tri-weekly publication was made but soon abandoned. In October, 1878, it became the first daily newspaper to be published in the Inland Empire, but the death of Dr. Newell, its proprietor, caused its temporary discontinuance until December of the same year when Colonel Frank J. Parker became its proprietor and discontinued the daily. In 1880, Colonel Parker introduced the first steam power press, and in April revived the daily which continued for many years as an afternoon paper.

A Republican newspaper, *The Walla Walla Union*, was started by a committee in 1868 to offset the Democratic *Statesman*. H. M. Judson was its first editor, soon succeeded by E. C. Ross, and then by P. B. Johnson, who held the position for twenty years. Type and press were purchased in Portland by Dr. D. S. Baker

in 1870. *The Walla Walla Union* continues as the town's morning paper, but the *Statesman* has been succeeded by *The Walla Walla Bulletin*.

The passing years were marked by the appearance, brief life and disappearance of *The Spirit of the West*, *The Walla Walla Watchman*, *The Morning Journal*, *The Daily Events*, and *The Washingtonian*, *The Garden City Gazette*, which recorded contemporary political or religious interests or the ambition of some itinerant newspaper man. The *Up-To-The-Times Magazine* began in 1906 to present monthly the story of the history, products and development of the Walla Walla Valley, continuing successfully for twenty-five years to mirror the life of the region.

The eager energy of the townspeople found expression not only in the competition of business but in the professional life of the place. Walla Walla, during the first twenty years of its existence as a town, was the largest center of population in Washington Territory and was, in consequence, a political center of great importance. Its lawyers were many and widely known; its judges of high repute; and the meetings of both bench and bar were characterized by the keenest of intellectual activity and vigorous rivalries. Judges, lawyers, legislators, congressmen, a territorial governor, and even two United States senators were numbered among its citizens, and not until the rapid increase of population on the west side of the Cascades diminished its relative importance did Walla Walla lose its place of commanding leadership in the life of the Territory.

The United States census for 1860, 1870 and 1880 demonstrates the numerical leadership of the town as respects population. In 1860 the city was reported as having a population of 722, with 320 at Fort Walla Walla. The total population of Walla Walla County was 1,318, that of Thurston County 1,507, and of King County 320; Seattle is not mentioned. The total population of the Territory was 11,594. In 1870, when the total population of the Territory had increased to 23,955, Walla Walla County had a population of 5,300, Thurston County 2,246, and King County 2,210. Curious errors in the census figures for Walla Walla County make it impossible now to determine the actual population of the city of Walla Walla, which is cited as having a population of 1,514 and again as 1,394; Frenchtown 2,612; and Waitsburg 1,174 and again as 107. Seattle at this time is recorded as having a population of 1,107. In 1880 the population of the Territory had grown to 75,116, and Seattle had increased to 3,533, but Walla Walla still led with 3,588. The flood of immigration which began in the eighties with the coming of the Northern Pacific Railroad flowed largely to Puget Sound, and from that time on Walla Walla steadily declined

in relative importance, though making marked advances in appearance, attractiveness and desirability as a place of residence. But not until an adequate water supply and an adequate sewage system were installed could the trees be planted and the lawns and flower gardens prepared, which made the town the delightful place of residence which it now is, when its population approximates 20,000.

Among the able, upright and energetic citizens who gave the town a steadily increasing reputation for ability and outreach, one man stands out conspicuously, not only for his business success but for the remarkable qualities of brain and will which characterized him. He towered above the excellent citizens of the town by his extraordinary business sagacity, his resolute and indomitable will, and a power of imagination which enabled him to anticipate the future and to control it. Yet he was a man of frail physique whose left side had been paralyzed in early life, who walked with a limp and was unable to use his left arm. Dr. D. S. Baker was born in Illinois in 1823 and educated at Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia, where he graduated in 1845. He came to Oregon by way of California, arriving in Portland in 1848. But Portland, with only fifty inhabitants, was too small a place for his restless ambition, which turned from the practice of medicine to that of business. He bought a flour mill at Oakland, Oregon, purchased real estate, became, in 1850, one of the owners of the original town site of Portland, and there opened a general store. All his business ventures were successful. When the Upper Country was opened for settlement in 1859 he visited Walla Walla, and in October established there the store which was under the management of "Uncle Billy" Stevens. He returned again in 1860, and in 1862 moved his family from Portland to Walla Walla.

The store which he had opened in 1859 became in 1861 the firm of Baker and Boyer, John H. Boyer, his brother-in-law, being taken into partnership. It grew rapidly, doing an informal private banking business, caring for the gold sacks which returned miners brought from the mines. In 1869 the private banking business became a public bank, the first established in Washington Territory, under the name of the Baker-Boyer Bank. It was perhaps not the first bank in Walla Walla, for one seems to have been started by Reynolds and Day, but it was the first that survived the vicissitudes of the business world. It became a national bank in 1890.

Dr. Baker bought large holdings of land from the U. S. Government, invested in cattle, steamboats and every form of legitimate investment, and accumulated profits which, by 1870, made him

the richest man in the town. Of all the citizens of Walla Walla, Dr. Baker seems to have kept in closest touch with the outside world. He had important business connections in Portland and San Francisco. He made three trips to the East and established business connections in New York City. He did not allow himself to be absorbed in the local life of the community but remained always a citizen of the greater world. On this account he felt more keenly than most people the aloofness of Walla Walla from the outside world and its imperative need for closer connection with it.

In the sixties frequent talk had been heard on the streets of the need for a railroad, and in 1868 an organization had been formed to bring this about, but all efforts failed, until, in 1872, Dr. Baker, practically alone, undertook the construction of a road from the Columbia River to the town thirty-two miles away. At first he was supported by an association of business men, but, as the magnitude of the task appeared, they dropped away from him and he was left without support. Doggedly he determined to succeed and, by putting all his accumulated savings into the enterprise, and by singularly skillful management, succeeded in completing the railroad from Wallula to Walla Walla in October, 1875.

At first it was not much of a railroad, having strap iron laid on beams until steel rails could be bought. Its rolling stock consisted of one light engine and two freight cars. But the road, as it grew, largely paid for itself from the receipts which it earned for hauling freight from the river to the end of the line, and from the end of the line, wherever that might be, to the river. The completion of this road was the triumph of Dr. Baker's life, and is a lasting monument to his amazing energy and ability. A year after its completion he sold six-sevenths of the road to the Oregon Steam Navigation Co., making a fortune from the sale and reserving one-seventh of it for himself. He was up to that time the only stockholder, having risked his entire fortune upon the success of the enterprise. The building of this road gave a new impetus to the life of the city. It was the first railroad in the Pacific Northwest except for two short portage roads at Cascade and Celilo on the Columbia River.

In 1872 the First National Bank of Walla Walla, which was the first national bank to be organized in Washington Territory, was established by Levi Ankeny, who, in the course of years, accumulated a great fortune and became United States senator, 1903 to 1909.

Religion was not absent from the life of the settlement. The Roman Catholic Church established a mission in 1858 and built the first rude building, a shack made of piles driven into the ground and covered with shakes, located southwest of the town next the

present lumber yard at Third and Poplar Streets. From this simple beginning grew the present St. Patrick's Parish, with its great church, schools, missions and hospital. In the fall of 1859 a Methodist Church was originated by the famous itinerant Methodist preacher and presiding elder, Father Wilbur. It was the first Protestant church east of the Cascades after the church at the Whitman mission. It has had a continuous existence to this day and is at present known as the Pioneer Methodist Episcopal Church. These two churches were the only Christian organizations during the feverish days of the gold rush and the period of lawlessness which attended it.

In 1864 Rev. P. B. Chamberlain and his wife moved to Walla Walla from Portland, where he had been pastor of the First Congregational Church, and opened a private school. On January 1, 1865, they, with Rev. and Mrs. Cushing Eells and their oldest son, Edwin, and six other persons, organized the Congregational Church of Walla Walla, the first church of this denomination in the Territory of Washington. The influence of Mr. Chamberlain was strongly exerted for law and order. No other churches were formed for seven years, until in the seventies, due to the growth of the town, several were organized. In 1872, Rev. Lemuel H. Wells organized St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church, and in the following year established St. Paul's School for Girls. In rapid succession other churches followed: the Seventh Day Adventists in 1874, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in 1876, the Methodist Episcopal Church South in the same year, and, not long after, the Presbyterian, Baptist, United Brethren and Christian Churches. The organization of these churches in the decade from 1870 to 1880 marks a change in the spirit and character of the town. The period of lawlessness and of unscrupulous business activity had passed, and the town was assuming that quiet and law-abiding character which later made it known as the city of homes and churches.

At first the pioneer settlement had no thought of schools for its children because there were no children or none old enough to need schooling. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that, in 1859, Rev. Cushing Eells, with prophetic foresight, anticipating the future needs not only of the town but of the territory, conceived the idea of a school which should supply the best kind of Christian education for the boys and girls who would some day, he felt, throng the region. He obtained from the Territorial Legislature on December 20, 1859, a charter for Whitman Seminary, named in honor of his great missionary colleague, Dr. Marcus Whitman, killed by the Indians twelve years before. This was the first charter granted by the Legislature to an institution of higher

education, and anticipated the charter of the Territorial University by two years.

It was Mr. Eells's intention to establish Whitman Seminary at Waiilatpu, the Whitman mission, where he had purchased the mission claim. Actual instruction began there on December 4, 1863, when his son Edwin opened a school in a hut sixteen feet square made of rough boards. Thirteen pupils attended the first day, and the term lasted for three months. That was the first crude beginning of Whitman Seminary, which was obliged by the growth of the town six miles to the east to transfer itself to Walla Walla and more suitable quarters. But it did not begin work again until 1866. From this simple beginning and the dream of a persistent man, Father Eells, grew what afterwards became Whitman College.

The first instruction offered in the town of Walla Walla was given by Mrs. A. J. Minor in the winter of 1861-62 to about forty pupils in a one-story building located at what is now the northeast corner of First and Alder. It was a private school, and as in all schools, both private and public, for many years, tuition was charged. Other private schools arose, taught by various individuals, among them Mr. Yocom, afterwards principal of the first public school. Mrs. P. B. Chamberlain, wife of the Congregational minister, began a private school in 1864, which continued for many years. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Moore arrived from Illinois in 1865 and the same year began teaching in the Methodist Church building on the corner of Fifth and Alder Streets. Mrs. Julia A. Moore, his wife, has been called the first woman public school teacher in Walla Walla, but this claim is also made for Mrs. A. J. Minor, who received a certificate from the County School Superintendent and thereafter was regarded as a public school teacher.

In 1864 St. Vincent's Academy for Girls was organized as a result of the increasing number of Catholic adherents in the community, and this institution has maintained a continuous and unbroken life until the present day. St. Joseph's Academy for Boys was organized in the following year.

The first public school, so-called, was begun in 1862, when the whole city was organized into District No. 1. A room was rented and a teacher employed. This was considered a public school at that time, but differed from the public school of today in regard to the source of its maintenance, as the teacher's salary and all other expenses were paid by contributions from the citizens. On December 12, 1864, a school meeting was held at which it was

voted to levy a tax of two and one-half mills for the erection of a school house. The first public school building, a one-story, two-room structure, was built at a cost of \$2,000 on the present site of the Baker School on a block donated by Dr. D. S. Baker. The first public school, according to the modern acceptance of the term, opened in this building in 1865, with Mr. Yocum principal and Mr. Gale assistant. The census of that time gives the number of children in the district as 203, but it soon became necessary to set up a new district, No. 34, in the southeastern portion of the city. This, and District No. 1, both grew until it was found advisable to consolidate them and build a graded school.

In October, 1866, Whitman Seminary began anew to realize the dream of Father Eells, occupying a two-story wooden building, built by private donations and located in the country northeast of the town where now the Whitman Conservatory of Music building stands on the corner of the Whitman College campus. In 1872 Bishop Morris of the Episcopal diocese of Oregon and Washington offered \$10,000 for the establishment of an Episcopal school for girls at Walla Walla, on condition that an equal sum be raised by the citizens. Under the stimulus of this offer extensive plans were formed, and Rev. Mr. Wells began teaching a girls' school which continued in operation during his service as rector and that of his successor, Rev. Mr. Lathrop. The gift of Bishop Morris was never obtained and the school maintained a precarious existence until it closed in 1882, without adequate site, buildings or endowment. After two years Miss Imogene Boyer of Walla Walla, believing that there was need for such a school for girls under the management of the Episcopal Church, reopened the institution, which has since, under the energetic management of Miss Nettie Galbraith, maintained a vigorous and useful existence, acquiring ample grounds and buildings.

That there was an active intellectual life in the community during these pioneer years is made evident by the organization of the Science Association in the late fall of 1876 or the spring of 1877. The Walla Walla Union of May 12, 1877, reports a large audience assembled at the Court House to listen to an able and interesting paper on "Respiration" by Dr. J. E. Bingham. The first Monday in June, Lieutenant F. T. Knox was to read a paper upon the progress made in the manufacture and use of arms; October 27, 1877, a meeting was held at the Court House at which Doctor George M. Sternberg read a paper on "The Germ Theory of Disease." Several members of the Association brought their microscopes with them, and living bacteria were exhibited to all

present. Drs. Day, Sternberg and Bingham spoke on facts relating to the subject of the evening.

The Association occupied rooms on the second floor of the Reynolds Building near the corner of Second and Main, and the largest room used for this purpose was known as Science Hall. A free reading room was established there. The Walla Walla Union for April 20, 1878, says:

Dr. Geo. M. Sternberg is to deliver a lecture at the Free Reading Room in Reynolds Hall on the Fossil Horse of Washington Territory, Its Origin and Contemporaries. The lecture will be illustrated by the use of stereopticon slides and the fossils collected by Dr. Sternberg during a recent trip north of Snake River.

After Dr. Sternberg's appointment by the United States Government to take charge of medical research into yellow fever in Havana, Cuba, the work of the Association seems to have lapsed and Science Hall, with its reading room, to have been abandoned for lack of funds. But the quickening effect of the organization was felt for many years. A broader intellectual horizon and a deeper scientific interest lingered in the lives of individual citizens and probably helped to prepare the public mind for the new intellectual activity which would follow the foundation of Whitman College three years afterwards.

The high place which Walla Walla held at this time among the other towns of the Territory by reason of its size and political influence was indicated by its hotel, The Stine House, which was opened for business in August, 1873, with a grand ball which lasted until daylight on the following day and was attended by all the leading citizens. It was the largest brick hotel in the Territory, was more than a year in construction, and was built on a lot purchased ten years previous by Fred Stine, one of the early pioneer residents of Walla Walla. Mr. Stine, who was a skillful blacksmith, had erected a small building on it soon after its purchase, and followed his vocation for the intervening years with great success. The building was given the name of the owner, although, contrary to the custom of the day, Mr. Stine was never its landlord. It is not known what the cost of the building was, but it was much more than the cost of a present day building of its size would be. The brick was made at Weston, Oregon, twenty miles away, and hauled here in wagons. The lime used came from San Francisco and cost \$80 per barrel delivered. The glass for the windows must have cost much more in proportion, as it was bought in France and made the journey around Cape Horn.

The greatest event that ever took place in this hostelry was the

dinner given to President Rutherford B. Hayes and his party, including Mrs. Hayes, General W. T. Sherman, and other distinguished persons. The menu, which was printed on white satin with gold border, is said to be the first ever printed in French. It is exactly reproduced as follows:

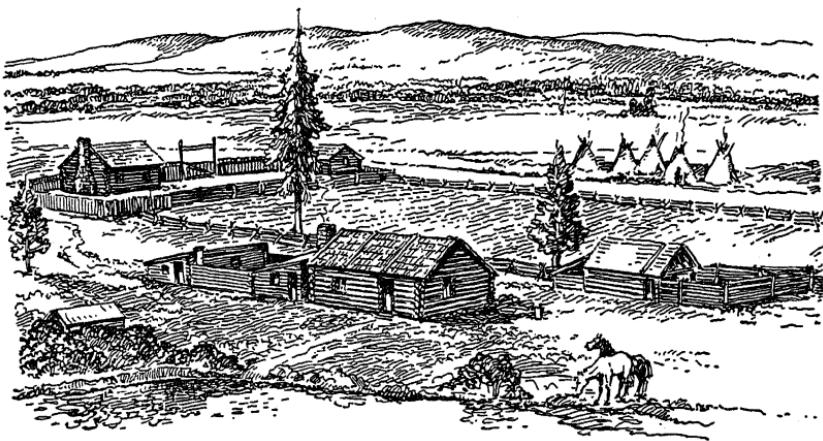
<i>Menu of Dinner</i>	
<i>Given in Honor of His Excellency</i>	
PRESIDENT HAYES AND PARTY	
<i>By the Citizens of Walla Walla at the Stine House</i>	
<i>Tuesday, October 5, 1880</i>	
Potages	
Green Turtle, à la Anglaise	Raviola, a la Neopolitan
Poissions	
Salmon, a la Cambridge	Oyster, au Coquille
Rotis	
Chicken	Loin of Beef
Turkey, Cranberry Sauce	
Salads	
Oyster	Russian
Hors D'Ouvers	
Boudin of Fowls, à la Richiliu	
Filet de Boeuf, au Chartreuse	
Mariande of Chicken	
Fricandeau with Puree of Green Peas, à la Macedoine	
Scallops of Sweet Breads, à la Dupelles	
Godiveay, au Moduc	
Matelotte of Eels, à la Bordelaise	
Macaroni, à la Polanise	
Fruits d'Amour	
Legumes	
Mashed Potatoes	Browned Potatoes
Sweet Potatoes	Cauliflower
String Beans	
Patisserie	
English Plum Pudding	Russian Charlotte
Jelly	
Panachee	Pineapple
Fruit	
Oranges	Pears
	Grapes

President and Mrs. Hayes were entertained in the large private residence of Mr. and Mrs. Michael Ward.

In 1880 and for ten years after, Walla Walla was a straggling country town, spread out at random over a wide area on both sides of Main Street, its first thoroughfare. It was a wide street lined by wooden buildings, none of them more than two stories high, with a few brick buildings scattered among them. Saloons were in every block, the street was lined with wooden sidewalks not all on one uniform level and with steps where the level was broken between two adjoining lots. The street was still as dusty as the old Nez Perce trail which it followed. Hitching posts were in front of every store, and on Saturdays the street was lined with horses and vehicles of every description. It was not until the city introduced a public water system in 1899 that the dust could be laid by sprinkling, and until then the device was introduced of laying straw upon the streets in mid-summer before the hauling of wheat broke up the ground and made the dust insupportable. The trees which were growing at this time were all locust trees which thrived despite the meager rainfall and the hot summers. The distribution of water from the public water system first made possible the planting of the elms and maples which are today the pride and glory of the town. In 1900 Walla Walla was called "the place of one story houses and two story trees."

Twice again was the city visited by a president of the United States. In 1904 came President Theodore Roosevelt, who addressed a crowd of ten thousand people from the front portico of the Whitman Memorial Building of Whitman College, and was entertained at dinner by Senator and Mrs. Levi Ankeny in their spacious home. The menu of the dinner served by Mrs. Ankeny was in striking contrast to the elaborate menu of the Stine House, being marked by simplicity and exquisite quality of food and drink rather than by elaborate display. It was the twenty-fifth of May, and the locust trees, then in full bloom, gave an indescribable fragrance to the air, long remembered with pleasure by President Roosevelt.

In the summer of 1911, President William Howard Taft spent two hours in the town, addressing a great crowd in the city park and visiting Whitman College. He saw few evidences of pioneer days, for the straggling western village, built along the Nez Perce trail, had become a compact, well governed and beautiful town, with paved and tree-lined streets and comfortable homes, surrounded by lawns and gardens. It had become a place of two-story houses and three-story trees.



CHAPTER IV

THE FOUNDER

The people of Walla Walla in the late '70's and the '80's would undoubtedly have said that their foremost citizen was Dr. D. S. Baker, whose career was outlined in the preceding chapter. They would have been right in so doing, for Dr. Baker, merchant, landowner, banker, railroad builder and man of many affairs, left an indelible impression upon the community in which he lived. Honored for his integrity, his ability and his many successes, although perhaps, by most more feared than loved, he left a great estate and an institution, the Baker Boyer Bank, which has been ably managed by his descendants. But those who would have rightly given this pre-eminence to Dr. D. S. Baker would have forgotten, or perhaps been ignorant of, another man who made a no less indelible impression on the community, not by his business ability but by his saintly character and by the institution which he left to embody his ideals, Whitman College. No two men could have been more unlike than Dr. Baker and Mr. Eells, but they were firm friends, and the help which the former gave to the latter was indispensable to his success. Because Cushing Eells left Walla Walla in 1872 and had lived out of town at Waiilatpu during the twelve years previous, he was not as well known nor so much talked about as Dr. Baker, yet he made a profound impression on those who knew him.

You could not know Cushing Eells without being fascinated by his singularity. Modest, self-effacing, always hard working, he seemed to be actuated by some lofty motive which gave nobility to his words and deeds. At the time of his death in 1893 Dr. Lyman

Abbott, in the Christian Union, said of him, "A man of quiet and beautiful character, of unsurpassed consecration, and one to whom the Republic of the United States owes a far greater debt than to many who have occupied a far more conspicuous place in history." A distinguished minister of New England, Rev. Dr. T. T. Munger, of New Haven, said of him, "He was the most Christly man I ever knew. I regard him as the greatest saint of modern times."

A son of New England, descended in direct line from John Eells of Barnstable, England, who settled at Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1630, Cushing Eells embodied the simplicity and austerity which characterized the early life of New England. He was accustomed to live on frugal fare, to allow himself no self-indulgence, and to save every penny toward some future good. He learned "To do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly before his God." Reverence was inbred in his nature and prayer was his regular daily exercise. If his religious horizon was narrow, his sky was lofty. He expected great things from God and felt himself always dependent on the Divine Mercy. He believed that he would be led step by step and this sense of divine guidance gave him confidence and hope. He trusted in God and himself, expecting little help from other people.

On February 16, 1810, Cushing Eells, son of Joseph and Elizabeth (Warner) Eells, was born on his father's farm in the Berkshire Hills near West Blandford, Massachusetts. He was the third child and oldest son of ten children and was not spoiled by over-indulgence. The home was one of poverty and toil and the boy, as he grew up, learned to do the chores about the house and later to work in the fields with his father and younger brothers. He went to the village school and learned the reading, writing and arithmetic which constituted the curriculum of the village school in those days. Religion filled the atmosphere of the home and the Sabbath gave character to their lives. The boy learned to read the Bible and to keep the Sabbath in the fullest meaning of the phrase, weighing mint, anise and cummin in the keeping of the law. Carefulness in the exercises of religion became his habit and lasted him through life.

He was converted at the age of fourteen but did not become a member of the church until three years after, for some curious but unknown reason, which caused him regret to the end of his days. He entered into a deep religious experience which transformed his life and gave him a new purpose. His minister, Rev. Doctor Clarke, and his father decided that the boy ought to go to college although the poverty of the father was too great for

him to contribute much to his son's education. After a year's studying with the minister, he went to Monson Academy and prepared there to enter Williams College.

The possibility of his receiving help from the American Education Society of Boston was suggested to him and he walked from Monson to Amherst, where he met Dr. Heman Humphrey and President Edward Hitchcock, who recommended him to the Society. From that time he received twelve dollars a quarter during his academy course, with the exception of one quarter, when he taught school. After he entered college this aid was increased to seventy-five dollars a year, in return for which he signed notes without interest. When he entered missionary work he was released from all these notes, according to the custom of the Education Society, but he always felt grateful to the society, and occasionally made donations to it. After he sold his farm—the Whitman Mission—in 1872, he gave the Society one thousand dollars.

In 1830 he entered Williams College, the pioneer institution of higher learning in western Massachusetts, founded in 1793 and famous already as the birthplace of that interest in foreign missions which had begun to animate the Christian people of the United States. The distance between his home and college was forty-five miles. When he entered his father took him, his few books and small baggage, in a one-horse wagon to Williamstown. Once in winter he took him in a cutter as far as Pittsfield, twenty-five miles, where the father turned back, and he walked on to Williamstown. By the kindness of a friend he once rode two-thirds of the distance, and at his graduation a sister and brother took him home in a one-horse wagon. The rest of his trips, two or three each year, he walked the entire distance.

After his graduation from college in 1834, he entered East Windsor Theological Institute in Connecticut, now the Hartford Theological Seminary, an institution then recently established to defend what its founders believed to be the old Pauline doctrines of the Bible; it was under Dr. Bennet Tyler, the great defender of what was called Tylerism as against Taylorism, the latter being defended by Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor, of the New Haven Theological Seminary.

While in College he had become a member of the Mills Society of Religious Inquiry made up of young men who intended to become either home or foreign missionaries. In his senior year he had become interested in work among the Zulus and two years later offered himself to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and was appointed to the Zulu Mission. On

October 25, 1837, he was ordained in his home church at Blandford as a Congregational Missionary to Africa. But the outbreak of war between two powerful Zulu chiefs, Dingaan and Mosilikatzi, rendered the Zulu Mission impracticable for a time and his voyage was delayed. He spent the winter in teaching school.

While he was pursuing his studies he taught school during one of his vacations in Holden, Massachusetts, and there became acquainted with Miss Myra Fairbank, the daughter of Deacon Joshua Fairbank, and the oldest of eight children. She had joined the Congregational Church at Holden when thirteen years old, and had received her education at a ladies seminary at Wethersfield, Connecticut. Before her marriage, when she was asked by Mr. Eells if she would be willing to become a missionary, she replied, "I doubt whether you could have asked any one who would have been more willing."

In the fall of 1837 William H. Gray, who had in the previous year accompanied Dr. and Mrs. Marcus Whitman and Rev. and Mrs. H. H. Spalding to establish the Oregon Mission of the American Board, returned East for reinforcements, and the Board asked Mr. Eells if he would be willing to change his life-work from Africa to Oregon. After consultation with his fiancée, a decision in the affirmative was reached and on March 5, 1838, they were married at Holden. The next day they started for Oregon on a wedding journey of three thousand miles which did not end until the last of April, 1839, when they began house-keeping in a log hut at Tshimakain.

The missionary party which crossed the continent in 1838 consisted of William H. Gray and his bride, Rev. Cushing Eells and his bride, Rev. Elkanah Walker of North Yarmouth, Maine, and his bride, Rev. and Mrs. A. B. Smith of Connecticut, and Cornelius Rogers, a young man who went as an independent missionary and joined them at Cincinnati. The vicissitudes and hardships of their long ride on horseback from Independence, Missouri, to Waiilatpu, part of the way with a party of the American Fur Company, must be left to the imagination. Mrs. Eells had never mounted a horse before. They arrived at Waiilatpu on August 29, and the condition of the mission at that time is vividly described by Mrs. Eells in her journal:

Arrived at Dr. Whitman's. Met Mr. Spalding and wife, with Dr. Whitman and wife, anxiously awaiting our arrival. They all appear friendly and treat us with great hospitality. Dr. Whitman's house is built of adobe, mud dried in the form of brick, only larger. I cannot describe its appearance, as I cannot compare it with anything I ever saw. There are doors and windows, but they are of the roughest material, the boards

being sawed by hand and put together by no carpenter, but by one who knows nothing about the work. There are a number of wheat, corn, and potato fields about the house, besides a garden of melons and all kinds of vegetables common to a garden. There are no fences, there being no timber of which to make them. The furniture is very primitive; the bedsteads are boards nailed to the side of the house, sink-fashion; then some blankets and husks made the bed, but it is good compared with traveling accommodations.

The main party arrived at Dr. Whitman's Wednesday and the rest the next day. On Friday they all talked over the mission outlook, and held a service of prayer for guidance. On Saturday the whole mission settled down to business, and assigned Mr. Smith to Dr. Whitman's station, Mr. Gray and Mr. Rogers to Mr. Spalding's, and voted to establish one new station in the Flathead country to be occupied by Mr. Walker and Mr. Eells. The new arrivals also joined the temperance society. The women organized a Maternal Association. On Sunday they had one service in English, one in Indian and observed the Lord's Supper. The new missionaries united with the mission church, then composed of seven members, making sixteen in all.

On September 10, Mr. Walker and Mr. Eells started north to locate the new station. They spent the first Sabbath among the Spokane Indians at Chewelah and then pushed on to Fort Colville, forty miles north, to consult with Mr. Archibald McDonald, in charge of that Hudson's Bay Company post, as to the best location for their mission. Fort Colville was the most important farming establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company in all the upper country. It produced annually about four thousand bushels of wheat besides considerable corn and vegetables. It had a large herd of cattle, then invaluable. The building, domestic animals, plantation and farming operations delighted the visitors. Mr. McDonald was an intelligent Scotchman, who was exceedingly kind to the missionaries during the several years that he remained in charge. His Indian wife, according to Mr. Eells was "a jewel of rare excellence, intelligent, and her numerous children were a living testimony to her maternal efficiency."

They remained there for three or four days to determine the location of their mission. Mr. McDonald recommended a place called Tshimakain, now Walker's Prairie, six miles north of the Spokane River, on the trail between Colville and Walla Walla. He also suggested as worthy of consideration a place on the Pend Oreille Lake, and advised them to look at it before deciding. Going there first, they next visited Tshimakain, "the plain of springs," and decided that it would be well to settle there as it

was the home of the Indian chief. They remained there some time to do what they could in preparing a home. Having nothing but a hatchet they sent to Colville for two Canadian axes, and with these and Indian help they cut logs about twelve inches in diameter and fourteen feet long, and built two long pens about twenty feet apart, for their future homes. As winter was approaching, they did not stay to cover them, but returned to Waiilatpu by way of Lapwai, having been absent about six weeks. That winter there were at Dr. Whitman's fifteen persons in all: Dr. Whitman and Mrs. Whitman and their little daughter Alice Clarissa, Messrs. Smith, Walker, Eells, and their wives, Margaret McKay, and five natives of the Sandwich Islands then in the employ of Dr. Whitman, Joseph and his wife Maria, Jack, Mungo, and Havia, the first two being members of the Sandwich Island Church. There, too, on December 7, 1838, Cyrus Hamlin Walker was born, believed to be the first American white boy born in Oregon.

During the winter Mr. Eells and Mr. Walker studied the Flathead language, which the Spokane Indians used, having as their tutor the noted Nez Perce chief, Lawyer, who was acquainted with it as well as with Nez Perce.

On March 5, 1839, the anniversary of their wedding day, Mr. and Mrs. Eells and Mr. and Mrs. Walker and their infant son started again to finish their wedding journey begun the year before.

On the twentieth they were at Tshimakain where they pitched their tents expecting to remain, but, as they were nearly out of provisions, they sent to Fort Colville for more. When the food arrived an urgent invitation also came from Mr. McDonald requesting the ladies and baby to be his guests at the Fort until the men should make the houses more comfortable. They accepted the invitation gratefully and it was not until the last of April that the wives returned and began housekeeping.

The remoteness of Tshimakain in 1839 can hardly be imagined today. It was nearly two hundred miles deeper into the wilderness than the Whitman Mission, and more inaccessible than the Lapwai Mission of Mr. Spalding. Its nearest point of contact with civilization, if that word may be used, was the Hudson's Bay Post at Fort Colville, seventy miles distant, and separated from it by forests, mountains, and prairies. A trail led through the forest, but it needs a woodsman to follow an Indian trail.

The houses which Mr. Eells and Mr. Walker had built were log cabins, later of adobe. That of Mr. Eells had at first only earth for a floor and pine boughs for a roof and as this did not keep out

the rain, some earth was thrown on the boughs, and when the rain still came through, a bearskin was put over the bed to keep the occupants dry. Boughs were then laid upon the floor, and when they became too dry were exchanged for new ones. This was for years the only carpet.

A cooking stove was unknown at Tshimakain during the whole ten years of the mission. Window glass was at first as scarce and cotton cloth was used as a substitute, then undressed deerskin, oiled. After a while a few panes of glass were sent from Massachusetts and still later a small box of glass was obtained. They had one chair during the ten years. For a table three boards, each three feet long, were packed a hundred and fifty miles, and a center table made by driving four stakes into the ground and placing the boards on them, while split and hewn timber was used for other articles.

In making their gardens the roughest kind of home-made plow was used with a harness as rough, but of all that they planted only their wheat and potatoes ripened, their corn having been killed by frost on August 18. In fact, they succeeded in raising corn and tender vegetables only about once in three years, some years there having been a frost every month.

A school for the Indians was begun at once, the lessons being prepared on paper and hung up on the side of the house to be recited in concert. The Indians took much interest in the school for a time, going through the same lessons afterward by themselves with one of their own number as teacher, and in 1842 a small book of sixteen pages was published by the mission press at Lapwai which increased their interest.

A blackboard for teaching music was made by pasting strips of paper on the board to indicate the five lines of the staff; a blacking made of soot and skim-milk was applied to the board, and then the paper was torn off leaving the board prepared for the teaching of singing by note. The doxology was first taught, the compass of their voices being such that they were able to sing it in three octaves in the key of F. Then Mr. Eells composed a hymn in the Indian language, and a tune which became very popular and is sung to this day by the Spokane Indians. Mr. McLean, of the Hudson's Bay Company, said that he had heard the Indians singing it on the tops of the Rocky Mountains.

Religious instruction was at first given through an interpreter, a simple passage of the Bible being explained beforehand to one of the more intelligent and teachable Indians, who repeated it to the congregation, speaking after the teacher and improving on his language.

A letter from Mr. Eells dated February 25, 1840, was published in the *Missionary Herald* of that year:

There is certainly no want of ability to learn. The interest and pleasure manifested in this exercise are truly commendable. Probably much of it should be attributed to novelty. My opinion is that our chief efforts should be with the children. What the result of teaching will be we are utterly unable to predict. It can hardly be expected that the present desire to be taught will remain unabated. We hope with trembling. Judging from the past it would not be strange if our hopes respecting the school should be suddenly blasted.

Respecting the Indian character, I will only say that I think a missionary on his first acquaintance with them will be inclined to judge quite favorably, and give an extravagant account of their readiness to receive the gospel. That error in this respect has been committed is very evident, but it should not be thought strange; for so great is the danger of being deceived that I am almost afraid to say anything on this point, even after having been among them more than a year.

Some itinerant labor ought to be performed. It is vain to expect that the habits of these natives to a great extent will be suddenly changed. Agricultural pursuits should be encouraged, but years must elapse before they can become general. I hazard nothing in saying that if abundance of corn and potatoes were furnished them, they would not be satisfied without some of their accustomed roots. Attempts at cultivating have been made by some of the Indians near us, the last season was particularly unfavorable. There was frost on the morning of the fifteenth of May, and again on August 20. The drouth was so severe that the potato crop failed almost entirely. The nights during the summer were generally cold. Sometimes there were fifty degrees difference between the temperature of the day and the night. There are places near us where there is frost in midsummer. The extremes of heat and cold have been 98 degrees above and 5 degrees below zero. Snow or rain has fallen during almost every week since the first of November. I think not one day in four has been pleasant weather. Our poor houses have been hardly sufficient to protect us from the storms, though our health has not materially suffered from this exposure.

Concerning the family life at Tshimakain, Mrs. Eells wrote:

Mrs. Walker and myself observe the last Wednesday afternoon of each month in concert with the other members of the missions as a season of prayer for our children. There is quite a large maternal association, of which perhaps I may tell you I am president. I have never seen half of the members and probably never shall. We observed last Monday as a day of fasting and prayer in connection with the churches at home for the conversion of the world. We observe the monthly concert and our Tuesday evening meetings, though we seldom have more than our own little number, four. I think there have never been more than six professors of religion present at any one time, and never more than three men.

During the year ending March 1, 1841, Mr. Eells traveled for the station twelve hundred miles on horseback, work which took him from home fifty-seven days, and also went more than four hundred miles to teach the Indians, which took him from home twenty-three days more.

Life at the Mission went on in this way without much change until the winter of 1846-47 which was unusually severe. Mrs. Eells wrote:

The past winter has been the most severe in the memory of the oldest Indians. The snow began to fall about the middle of November; to the first of March. For more than five months the earth was clothed in a robe of white; for more than three months we were literally buried in snow; all of the west side of our house was banked to the roof and would have been dark only that the snow was shoveled from the windows. Our meetinghouse was not opened from the seventeenth of January till the last Sabbath in March, and then Mr. Eells went on snowshoes. Several Indians went to worship on the first Sabbath of April, but Mr. Eells went on horseback; sometimes it was so cold that the air cut like a knife and about the first of March we could not keep ourselves comfortable. From the middle of December until some time in April, men, women, and children traveled on snowshoes—everywhere outside of the everyday beaten path. The extent of Mr. Eells' and Mr. Walker's traveling was to the Indian lodges and about a quarter of a mile to feed their horses and cattle; it was only by unwearied labor and the greatest economy in feeding that enough of our cattle and horses were saved for present use. Only one horse died, but we have lost twelve cattle. We have, however, had an abundance of the necessities of life and more of its luxuries than has sometimes fallen to our lot.

The fore part of the winter, both Indian men and women spent a great part of their time and strength digging away the snow so that their horses could get grass. Sometimes they would cut long grass and feed them; but almost all died before the last of January. The old chief says he had seventy horses and thirty cattle but before the close of April he had no horses and only two cattle. At Colville the Hudson's Bay Company had two hundred and seventy horses; by April only three were alive.

Incessant as were the activities of Mr. Eells and Mr. Walker at Tshimakain it was their duty to co-operate with other stations in the business of the Oregon Mission of the American Board in which the three stations, Waiilatpu, Lapwai and Tshimakain were joined. The meetings of the Mission were held at the Central Station, Waiilatpu, whenever summoned by the Senior Missionary, Dr. Whitman. In September, 1842, a particularly important meeting was held in connection with the proposal of Dr. Whitman to go East at once to Washington in order to prevent if possible the cession of Oregon to Great Britain, the danger of which had

just been reported to him by newly arrived settlers. Long afterwards Mr. Eells, who was the Secretary of the Mission, described the historic meeting and made a solemn deposition as to the accuracy of his statements.

September, 1842, a letter written by Dr. Whitman addressed to Rev. Messrs. E. Walker and C. Eells at Tshimakain, reached its destination and was received by the persons to whom it was written. By the contents of said letter a meeting of the Oregon Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was invited to be held at Waiilatpu. The object of said meeting, as stated in the letter named, was to approve of a purpose formed by Dr. Whitman, that he go East on behalf of Oregon as related to the United States. In the judgment of Mr. Walker and myself that object was foreign to our assigned work. With troubled thoughts we anticipated the proposed meeting. On the following day, Wednesday, we started, and on Saturday afternoon camped on the Touchet, at the ford near the Mullan bridge. We were pleased with the prospect of enjoying a period of rest, reflection and prayer—needful preparation for the antagonism of opposing ideas. We never moved camp on the Lord's Day. On the Monday morning we arrived at Waiilatpu and met the two resident families of Messrs. Whitman and Gray. Rev. H. H. Spalding was there. All the male members of the mission were thus together. In the discussion the opinion of Mr. Walker and myself remained unchanged. The purpose of Dr. Whitman was fixed. In his estimation the saving of Oregon to United States was of paramount importance, and he would make the attempt to do so, even if he had to withdraw from the mission in order to accomplish his purpose. In reply to considerations intended to hold Dr. Whitman to his assigned work, he said: "I am not expatriated by becoming a missionary." The idea of his withdrawal could not be entertained, therefore to retain him in the mission a vote to approve of his making the perilous endeavor prevailed. He had a cherished object for the accomplishment of which he desired consultation with Rev. David Greene, secretary of correspondence with the mission at Boston Mass., but I have no recollection that it was named in the meeting. A part of two days was spent in consultation. Record of the date and acts of the meeting was made. The book containing the same was in keeping of the Whitman family. At the time of their massacre, November 29, 1847, it disappeared.

The fifth day of October following was designated as the day on which Dr. Whitman would expect to start from Waiilatpu. Accordingly, letters, of which he was the bearer, were required to be furnished him at his station in accordance therewith. Mr. Walker and myself returned to Tshimakain, prepared letters and forwarded them seasonably to Waiilatpu. By the return of the courier information was received that Dr. Whitman started on the third of October. It is possible that transpirings at old Fort Walla Walla hastened his departure two days.

Soon after his return to this coast Dr. Whitman said to me he wished he could return East immediately, as he believed he could accomplish

more than he had done, as I understood him to mean, to save this country to the United States. I asked him why he could not go. He said: "I cannot go without seeing Mrs. Whitman." She was then in the Willamette valley.

Early in December, 1847, the appalling news of the Whitman Massacre reached them through their Indian friends. Soon after, the Cayuses sent word to the Spokanes that the Americans on the Willamette had killed all the Indians there in retaliation for the death of the Americans at Dr. Whitman's, for they wished to induce the Spokanes to join them, and, as such retaliation would be in accord with the Indian practice, the Cayuses expected the Spokanes to believe the story. Mr. Eells at once detected the plot and said, "The rumor is false and of mischievous tendency." The chief also saw through it and believed Mr. Eells, but the great difficulty lay in inducing all the Indians to believe him. The chieftain sent runners in all directions with the words: "Believe not the message. It is not the way the Americans do."

After long and anxious consultation it was decided that the women and children should be sent to Fort Colville to accept the hospitality which had been promptly offered to them by the new factor, John Lee Lewes. Mrs. Eells and Mrs. Walker had not left Tshimakain since their arrival there in April, 1839, when they had enjoyed the hospitality of Mr. McDonald. They now returned after nine years, with eight children, six of them children of Mr. and Mrs. Walker, and the two sons of Mr. and Mrs. Eells, Edwin born in 1842 and Myron in 1845. What hardships, poverty, hunger, cold and anxiety had they endured during those nine years, and how little except their children had they to show for their uncomplaining service! Mrs. Eells had written to her mother in 1847, "We have been here almost nine years and have not yet been permitted to hear the cries of one penitent or the songs of one redeemed soul."

With their wives and children safe Mr. Eells and Mr. Walker decided to remain with their Indians and dissuade them, if possible, from joining the Cayuses and the other hostile Indians then engaged in a desperate war with the Oregon Volunteers, who had hastened from the Willamette Valley to avenge the Whitman Massacre. They visited the scattered bands allaying their fears and holding religious services with them. In ten weeks Mr. Eells traveled on horseback fourteen hundred miles while engaged in this desperate undertaking. He had a swift horse which no Indian could catch and a pack mule which could scent an Indian half a mile or more. In camping he selected some secluded place, hobbled his horse and staked his mule. If any Indians came within smelling

distance the mule would snort and tear, awaken his master and warn him of the approaching danger.

But it had become evident that the Mission, and indeed the whole country east of the Cascades, was no longer safe for American missionaries or settlers and a troop of cavalry was sent by Col. H. A. G. Lee of the Oregon Volunteers to escort the Eells and Walker families to safety. Against the earnest protestations of the Spokane chiefs and many of the tribe, they decided to abandon the Mission, for a time at least, and take refuge in the Willamette Valley.

On the Sabbath there was a service in the forenoon for the whites, the families sitting upon bales, the soldiers on logs. Towards evening Indians came about, and Qual-qual-a-hive-tsa said: "We do not know when we shall hear you again. Will you not have a service for us?" A service was accordingly held for them with a reading of a scripture lesson and a sermon on the text, "The people departed, sorrowing most of all that they might see our faces no more."

The first week's journey took them to Wailatpu. Two Indians, out of affectionate regard, went with them as far as the Snake River, and there one of them, Charles, said to Mrs. Eells: "Our hearts weep to see you go, but we acquiesce." The next week brought them to the Dalles, whence Mr. Eells took the animals and went over the Cascade Mountains by the Barlow route to Oregon City, accompanied by the Volunteers, while the rest went down the river by boat reaching Oregon City on June 22, two days before Mr. Eells. On the following Sunday they all listened to the preaching of Rev. George H. Atkinson, who was the first minister sent by the American Home Missionary Society to Oregon. It was his first sermon in his new field.

After the missionaries had been safely brought out of the upper country, Colonel Lee officially declared it closed to American settlers, as the government could not protect them, and it remained closed for the next ten years during the period of Indian wars which ensued. As Mr. Eells had left the scene of his missionary labors and begun the long journey to the Willamette Valley and safety his heart had been heavy with disappointment. They had labored for ten years without apparent results, for they had been too zealous for the good name of their church to admit into it anyone whose character had not been proven by hard trial. They had not sought to make hasty converts and baptize them for their own glory and because no Indian had been admitted into church membership under their stern requirements, they feared that souls had not been saved and that the ten years past had

been like water spilled on dry ground. How inadequate church membership is to test the depth of religious impressions, and how unjustified their doubts and fears concerning their Indian friends were, came to light slowly in the generation that followed. The work at Tshimakain was not a failure; their teaching had not been in vain; souls had been saved though they had not been garnered into the church, and seeds had been sown which sprang up into an abundant harvest during the forty years that followed.

Notwithstanding all the commotion about Tshimakain in the spring of 1848 the wheat had been sown in hope that it might be needed. When the missionaries left in June Mr. Eells gave the Indians the two sickles and they were instructed to cut it when it was ripe and put it in the barn, and if the missionaries did not return before the snow should fall, they might thresh and eat it. It was harvested, but the chief said it must be kept for the use of their teachers on their return. It was used in time of need for seed, but was replaced. When in 1850 they expected Mr. Walker to visit them they carried it to Colville, had it ground, and brought it back for the use of his expected party.

In 1855 while Mr. Eells was living near Hillsboro, Oregon, gold was discovered near Colville and among those who hastened thither was William H. Bennet, one of Mr. Eells neighbors. When he and his party reached the Spokane River they at first found no way of crossing, but looking down the river they found some Indians, who assisted them. When Mr. Bennet told them he was acquainted with Mr. Walker and Mr. Eells immediately the Indians' faces brightened and they worked with delight. At noon the white men thought that since the Indians had been so kind they ought to ask the chief to eat with them. After they were seated the chief looked as if he were waiting for something, and as they were about to begin eating the chief bowed his head and asked a blessing. In telling Mr. Eells about it afterwards Mr. Bennet said, "Those Indians were better Christians than we were."

[Major P. Lugenbeel was for years in command of the new army post at Fort Colville, taken over from the Hudson's Bay Company, and also acted as Indian agent. In 1861 he said to Mr. Eells, "Those Indians of yours are the best Indians I ever saw. I wish you would go back and resume missionary operations among them." After Mr. Spalding had returned to his work among the Nez Perces, the years from 1871 to 1874 were his most successful ones there. When the Spokane Indians heard of his work they applied to him. He went among them in 1874 and without organizing any church baptized two hundred and fifty-three, over a

hundred more being baptized after his death. Deacon J. J. McFarland, of Salem, who as millwright helped to build the first sawmill at Spokane Falls, said of these Indians, that morning and evening they daily called the people together for worship and also for the public Sunday services.

When Mr. Eells heard this and of Mr. Spalding's work among them, he was drawn as by a magnet towards them. On July 15, 1874, he left Skokomish on his horse, Le Blau, crossed the Cascade Mountains, walking about one-third of the way, with the horse carrying his food and bedding. Proceeding by way of Walla Walla and Colfax, he reached the Spokane River where he saw a lodge of Indians; when he said to them, "Do you know me?" "Yes! Yes! Mr. Leels!" was the reply. One of them, called Abraham, while riding with him said, "I think the book of God is like a torchlight," and Mr. Eells thought at once of the scripture "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path." He held two services with them at Chewelah and two more with the white settlers, all within six hours. Thereafter, when Mr. Eells devoted the remaining years of his life to visiting in the summer time the scattered settlements that were springing up rapidly in eastern Washington, he maintained close relations with the Spokane Indians and as a result of his work and that of Rev. H. T. Cowley, who had come as a Presbyterian missionary in 1864, two Presbyterian Indian Churches were later organized, one at Lot's Prairie and one at the mouth of the Spokane River. When he last visited them in September, 1892, the year before his death, the old Indians gathered around him and almost worshipped his venerable form. He ate a frugal meal with them and knelt with them in prayer beside a fallen log. Who shall say that his work for these Indians had been a failure!

After their enforced abandonment of the Mission at Tshimakain the Eells family remained in Oregon for fourteen years, making their home at Forest Grove. The activities of Mr. Eells during this period were later summarized by his son, Edwin, as follows:

He taught first for six months in what is now Willamette University, at that time the Oregon Institute, and in the spring of 1849 went to what is now Forest Grove, and instituted Tualatin Academy, since grown to be Pacific University. During the next ten years he taught at different places in Tualatin Plains and was in 1859 again teaching in the Academical department of Pacific University. It was at this time that the upper country, as it was then called, was opened to settlement and pioneers began to swarm into the Walla Walla Valley. He had for many years been casting longing eyes in that direction for he had never considered the Willamette valley his permanent home. In the summer of that year he visited the

Walla Walla Valley, made a thorough exploration of it and after careful consideration, determined to establish an institution of learning on the site of the Whitman Mission. He returned to his home, and soon after attended the meetings of the Oregon Congregational Association, and asked their endorsement to an application to the Home Missionary Society for a commission to preach in the Walla Walla valley, with the intention at the same time, of establishing a Christian school. His application was heartily endorsed by the Association and was sent on. At the same time he wrote to the American Board making them an offer of \$1000 for the Whitman Mission Claim and stated that he intended to give one half of it to found a school in memory of his fellow laborer. He then applied to the Legislature of the Territory for a charter for Whitman Seminary. He secured the charter and his offer to the American Board was accepted, but his application to the Home Missionary Society was refused on account of lack of funds and want of appreciation of the importance of the field. This was a very serious disappointment to him. Rather than give up his project, however, which by that time he had become very much wrapped up in, he undertook to do it alone himself. He had some property, but it was difficult to turn it into money. So with a new wagon that he traded for, a pair of small ill-matched horses that he owned, and a yoke of oxen that he borrowed, he left his home at Forest Grove early in March, 1860, with his elder son for the Walla Walla valley. There was nothing on the place but a log cabin about twelve and a half feet square inside; with a dirt floor, a roof made of split logs covered and a single pane of glass for a window. For two years this was their home. With their team fed on grass they broke up ten acres of land and planted it in corn, then enclosed it with a poor fence and guarded and tended it. During the summer he preached at different places in the valley nearly every Sunday. At all times and in all places he was continually talking about his school to be. In the fall he sold his corn crop to the military post, receiving therefor \$1000, one half of which he sent to the American Board to apply on the purchase price. He spent the winter at his home in the lower country and the following spring came up again as before. This year he raised a crop of wheat which brought him about the same amount, and he completed the payment for the place. He then turned his attention to moving his family up to this valley. They arriving about the middle of June, 1862.

A boy who was living in Forest Grove at the time when the Eells family left there for the upper country, "then a mysterious far-away region, haunted by savages and mixed up with glowing accounts of fabulous mines and gold bricks and rich diggings," afterward described the impression which their departure made on him:

The little town was all astir with the great event. After the numerous boxes and bundles had been safely stowed away for their long journey, Father Eells, with the peculiar gravity and solemnity that always awed

the most frivolous, made a brief farewell address and then called upon several of the neighbors to offer prayer, after which, with a hymn, they started their teams and proceeded upon their way, almost as solemn an occasion, and a good deal the same, as when Paul parted from the friends who sorrowed most of all because, he said, they would see his face no more.

There were no railroads in those times, and goods and people must be conveyed in big wagons from Forest Grove to Portland, thence transferred to boats to be transported to the Dalles on the east side of the Cascade Mountains. From the Dalles across the vast, arid plains of eastern Oregon, a hundred and fifty miles further, they resumed their tedious wagon journey. It was a ten day trip in all.

When they arrived at Waiilatpu they were greeted by their son, Edwin, who had been in charge of the place during the terrible winter of 1861-62. The remainder of that year and the next were spent in making the home more habitable, but their life there for the next ten years was a constant trial to Mrs. Eells. She afterward said that if she could then have been permitted to return to Forest Grove, three hundred miles, she would have been tempted to make the journey on foot, "Yes, on hands and knees." As long as she stayed there, from her fifty-seventh to her sixty-seventh year, the life, the lonely farm work and the want of society were ever uncongenial to her. But her great object in remaining was to aid her husband in his work, for she had the same martyr heroism that he had. Her son, Myron, comments, "It was such hardships as these which our fathers and mothers have borne to plant Christian institutions in this land."

After Cushing Eells had established his family in what seemed to him sufficient comfort, he turned his attention to his great objective, the building of Whitman Seminary, to be described in the next chapter. Prof. W. D. Lyman says,

Those who were then living in Walla Walla are fond of recounting the manner of life, the industry, frugality, self-denial, curious mixture of sternness and gentleness, the preciseness of speech, the extreme rigidity in Sabbath conduct and all other religious observances, the scrupulous honesty of both word and deed and the kindly and genial humor of a sort of an Old Testament cast, which made the life of this patron saint of Walla Walla a curiosity—and yet an object of profound respect, to the not remarkably pious and scrupulous inhabitants of ancient Walla Walla.

Cushing Eells was a small, spare man, about five feet, six inches in height, lithe in his movements and vigorous physically. Self-contained and quiet, his gentle demeanor concealed his abounding vitality. One of his pupils in the Seminary describes the impression

which he made on her while teaching his class of Indians in the little Congregational Church which had been founded in 1865.

Oh, but the sight of him in church, i.e., Sunday School, standing before those Indians, men and women, in their blankets, from one to two dozens who seemed to hang upon the words of the dear teacher. He would frequently lift his arm and eyes upward as he uttered the name of God in their tongue (Chinook) "Sakhalie Tyee"; one old man of their number would repeat all after him. Father Eells' presence was to me always a benediction. It is a marvel to me that he, through so many years, so far removed from centers of refinement, working with untaught Indians, still retained such careful courtesy of manner and extremely measured precision and dignity of speech.

One who often heard him speak describes the effect which he produced.

He was an impressive speaker, not so much from the possession of oratorical gifts or a striking presence as from the clearness with which he spoke his message and the kindness and absolute sincerity and honesty which shone forth from every lineament of his face and vibrated in every tone of his voice.

The building of the Whitman Seminary involved him in greater difficulties than he had imagined. If the secret of genuine administrative ability is expressed in the saying, "Never do anything yourself that you can get others to do for you," Cushing Eells did not possess administrative ability of a high order. He did things himself, he did them by himself. He did not say to others, "Come, let us do this thing together," but depended on himself and his own efforts. If a task was to be done, he did it; if a debt was to be paid, he paid it; if a need arose he always seemed to consider it his own personal responsibility.

When the Rev. P. B. Chamberlain came into the valley in 1864, Mr. Eells welcomed him and helped him to organize the first Congregational Church in Washington Territory, contributing \$100 annually to his support and joining the church with his family. When Mr. Chamberlain resigned the principalship of the Seminary, before completing his first year, Mr. Eells assumed the task and acted as principal for two years although serving as county superintendent at the time. When debt threatened the existence of the Seminary he again intervened.

The Seminary was in debt because promised subscriptions to the building had not been paid, and ruinous interest at two per cent a month was accumulating on the money borrowed in dependence upon them. Mr. Eells had already given half his farm for the school, and now he went to work to pay these debts and save the institution. Besides his work in teaching and as county

superintendent, he farmed, raised stock, sold cord wood, peddled chickens, eggs and the like, and Mrs. Eells, his equal in consecrated sacrifice, made four hundred pounds of butter in one season, though over sixty years of age, until her strength gave out. The proceeds of these heroic efforts went to pay the debt.

He had already given the Seminary one half of the Whitman Mission claim of 640 acres and the Trustees had offered this for \$2000 but there was no purchaser at that time. He bought the outstanding notes amounting to \$2900 and offered to exchange them for the land. This was done. Someone, however, made this remark that he would make a good thing out of it. He thought within himself, what a pity that some one else had not had sense enough to perceive that they could make a good thing out of it. And he also said, "I will gag that person and thus will I do it. Whatever shall be the increase in that property the school shall have the benefits of it."

While he was acting as principal of the Seminary from 1867-69, he was at the same time county superintendent of Walla Walla County, then as large as the state of Massachusetts. Boarding himself in the bare upper room of the Seminary building he taught five days each week, and then spent his Saturdays in attending to the country school business and vacations in visiting schools. In recognition of his faithful service as county school superintendent his salary was raised from \$25, his predecessor's pay, to \$500, the highest legal limit!

In 1872 the Eells house at Waiilatpu was burned to the ground and all its contents consumed, including the records of the Whitman Mission and of the Trustees of Whitman Seminary. The institution had been closed for two years, so, at the urgent desire of Mrs. Eells, they left Walla Walla and made their home at Skokomish where their son, Edwin, was United States Indian agent. Thereafter they lived on Puget Sound until Mrs. Eells' death in 1878. Mr. Eells devoted himself to work among the Indians on the Sound but spent his summers east of the mountains visiting the Spokane Indians, preaching in the little towns which were springing up in eastern Washington, and helping to establish Congregational churches where needed. His devotion to Whitman Seminary was undiminished and it was equally the object of his self denial and his prayers. When traveling through the forest and over the prairies alone with his horse and sleeping at nights under the trees, he lived on dried salmon, bread and water, at an expense of twenty-five cents a week, in order to save money for the institution, to which he managed to give during his lifetime \$10,000, and to which he left, by his will, his residuary estate, valued at \$10,000 more.

During all these years he was constantly laboring for the establishment of churches throughout the fast settling country. Without salary he probably traveled more miles and founded more churches than any other man ever did under like circumstances. Every Congregational Church in Washington east of the Cascade Mountains was helped by him with personal gifts, even though he had not organized it. At The Dalles, Walla Walla, Skokomish, Colfax, Chewelah, Cheney, Medical Lake, Spokane, Sprague, Dayton, Pleasant Prairie, Tacoma, Olympia, Seattle, Lone Pine, Union City, and Pullman, he gave practical aid, helping to organize the first nine of these, and serving six as pastor. In nine churches the bells which he gave still ring in his memory. His gifts to these churches aggregate in money over \$12,000.

In 1882, after Whitman Seminary had carried on sixteen years of interrupted but in the main satisfactory work, it seemed plain to its best friends that some radical change was essential for the life of the institution. Accordingly there was a complete re-organization, a charter as a college was secured, Dr. A. J. Anderson was appointed president, and the work of raising an endowment fund was definitely undertaken. Some one must visit the East and beg for funds. Again the labor fell on Cushing Eells, an old man of seventy-three, whose slight form gave little promise of success. Forty-five years of unending toil and self-denial as a missionary had worn his strength but left his faith undimmed. From this new and unaccustomed task he shrank in an agony of fear. But, unless he went, no one would, and the College must die. Therefore he went to the sacrifice and spent the hardest year of his life traveling through New England to raise money for Whitman College. He refused to take any money for his services and paid his expenses out of his own pocket.

March 1, 1884, he wrote in his diary, "Work and solicitations in behalf of Whitman College are painfully trying. The thought is suggested that this may be suffering for Christ's sake. If so, then it may be endured in the spirit of those who rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for his name. Appearances are discouraging. My faith in God continues."

In all he received about \$12,000, of which \$7,000 was for endowment. Broken in health he returned home, feeling that he had largely failed because his hopes for success had not been realized, yet his efforts saved the College, and the impression which he made in the East was profound. The National Council of Congregational Churches, at their triennial meeting in Concord, New Hampshire, elected him Assistant Moderator, an honor which

"stupefied him with amazement." He was greeted with cheers as "The John Baptist of the Home Missionary Society."

But such things did not lessen his sense of failure. In July he wrote, "In view of this failure to obtain what in my judgment is greatly needed, I propose to make a new will, whereby all my property, except what is given to relatives, shall be applied to Whitman College." He carried out his intention.

Other entries from his journal are as follows:

May 11, 1885, Day and night I cry for favor for Whitman College.

April 15, 1888. I plead for mercy in behalf of Whitman College.

Oct. 2, 1891. Dreamed about Whitman College; awoke; was exercised in wrestling prayer for the College. It seemed that the agony was so great that body and spirit would part.

His frequent utterance was: "I could die for Whitman College."

The last winters of his life were spent with his son, Edwin, in Tacoma, where he was an honored member of the Congregational Church. With child-like simplicity he wished fervently that he might live to be eighty-three and this unspoken prayer was granted, for, on the morning of his eighty-third birthday, February 16, 1893, he fell asleep and ceased from his labors. Was any man ever more revered and loved in the Pacific Northwest to which he had devoted fifty-five years of missionary service?

Cushing Eells was, essentially, a pioneer, and in him that first virtue of the pioneer, self-reliance, came to full flower. His education had made him self-reliant. Walking from home, as a student, to Williams College, earning his way there by humble labor, teaching in country schools that he might earn a college education, traveling across the continent with a little party of fellow missionaries largely dependent upon his initiative and leadership, deciding upon the site of their future mission and directing its development, he was, by training if not by nature, an individualist, with the limitations common to that type of mind. He trusted to his own powers and seldom ventured to go beyond them. He was, as his son Edwin said of him, a teacher, with habits of mind which teaching develops—*independence, reflection and clearness of expression*, but seldom manifesting the power of developing enthusiasm in others, or of inspiring them to common enterprises. He taught by precept and by example, and his example was more powerful than his precept. But it was the example of a solitary man dedicated to high ideals, forgetting himself, always, in the thought of others, uncomplaining and happy in his unwavering career of self-dedication. His saintliness was that of a servant, not of a master, for in him the virtue of self-reliance was equalled, if not surpassed, by a great humility.

Although genial and friendly, he was a solitary man. He loved to be by himself in the wilderness, and thought nothing of crossing the Cascade Mountains by himself with his horse, in days when as yet no road had been made across the great range. He was never so happy as when he was out in the woods or on the plains, alone with his own thoughts and his God, eating his frugal fare of dried salmon, bread and water.

The most striking intellectual characteristic of Father Eells was his remarkable memory. Besides his steadfast and indomitable will, he possessed a retentive memory on which the experiences of his life were etched as on steel plate. He remembered with exactness and with a singular sense of time. His life had been one of many journeyings and he seemed able to divide it by the camps which he had made; he could recall not only how an event had happened but when it happened, naming the day of the week and the month of the year with an accuracy which could not be overthrown, and which none found it profitable to dispute.

He was exceedingly careful also in his statement of facts, never exaggerating, but rather understating what he undertook to describe. Mr. W. P. Winans, later a banker of Walla Walla, told the story of his experience with Mr. Eells when the former was keeping store at Fort Colville early in the seventies. Mr. Eells was riding up to the store in the early morning when his horse took fright and threw him suddenly, despite the fact that he was an excellent horseman, and broke his spectacles. Mr. Eells gathered himself together and collected the pieces of his broken glasses; then approaching the store on foot, he said to Mr. Winans in the slow and measured tones which were characteristic of him, "I have broken my glasses into a dozen pieces." And Mr. Winans used to say that no one who knew Father Eells would doubt for a moment that the glasses had actually been broken into at least twelve pieces, not ten or even eleven.

It was this particular accuracy of statement, combined with the singular retentiveness of his memory, that makes Mr. Eells's testimony as an historical witness unusually valuable. He had a great reverence for the truth and would not overstate any circumstance of which he had personal knowledge, distinguishing carefully between his personal experiences and matters of belief. Because these characteristics of his were not known to some of the eastern historians who engaged in the so-called Whitman Controversy, the exceptional value of Father Eells's testimony was overlooked. It is doubtful if any other man in the history of the Pacific Northwest was more reliable as a witness. Therefore the sworn statement by him noted earlier in this chapter, page

62, must always be taken into careful consideration in any discussion of the Whitman story and of Doctor Whitman's motives in making his great winter ride to Washington and Boston in 1842-43.

As Cushing Eells grew older he must have taken great pleasure in recalling the memories of his real and varied experiences and especially those of his associations with Dr. and Mrs. Whitman at Waiilatpu. The tragedy of their death did not blot from his mind the happy recollection of their friendship and their sympathy. And he must often have recalled with mixed feelings of happiness and sorrow the first winter which he spent in their hospitable home and the many evidences which they had given him of their overflowing helpfulness. The visits of Dr. Whitman to Tshimakain became vivid to him and were the symbol of the neighborliness of the great physician. With such memories crowding in upon his mind he must have received immeasurable satisfaction from the thought that he had honored his martyred friend and preserved his name to future generations by dedicating himself to the building of Whitman College. That institution had been born in his mind as he had stood by Whitman's grave when the flooding memories of the dead years stirred his imagination to picture a future day when their common hopes should be realized in a Christian civilization on which the living influence of Dr. Whitman would be felt.

The abiding impression which Cushing Eells made on those who knew him best was more than reverence, it amounted to awe. Those who knew him slightly felt the charm of his simplicity, his dignity and the quaint humor which played like summer lightning around the edges of his speech, but, as they became better acquainted with him, they began to feel that his steadfast devotion to some high ideal, his generosity in giving to advance it, and his complete forgetfulness of self, while shrewdly attaining his goal, marked him as a man of a higher order who lived in a different world. They felt somehow that this was due to his religion, to his sense of God and his referring all things to Him. The effect can only be described in the quaint Old Testament phrase, "A Man of God." Cushing Eells had become, by the experiences of his eventful life and by the dedication of his soul, a man of God, and so, like Enoch of old, of him too it might be written, "he walked with God and was not, for God took him."



CHAPTER V

THE BEGINNING

"Whitman College was founded by a saint in memory of a hero." The life of that saint, Cushing Eells, has been told in the preceding chapter as that of the hero, Marcus Whitman, was told in the opening chapter, "At Waiilatpu." This chapter will tell the story of the founding and struggles of the little institution, in which Cushing Eells began to embody his ideals. If, indeed, as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrew declares, "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen," then certainly the founding of Whitman Seminary was an act of faith, pure and simple, a work of creative imagination inspired by a powerful ethical impulse.

The idea of establishing at Waiilatpu, a memorial to his murdered friends and associate missionaries, Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, occurred to Cushing Eells while he was living at Forest Grove, Oregon, in 1853, the same year that Washington Territory was organized and only six years after the massacre at Waiilatpu. The conception of an educational institution to be established in their memory must, at the time, have seemed absurd and impracticable. For, east of the Cascades probably not more than half a dozen white men were living and the Inland Empire was ravaged by Indian wars. Not until November, 1858, was the "upper country" declared open for settlers by the War Department, and not until the following spring did settlers begin to enter the country in a slender stream which soon became a rushing torrent.

In the spring of 1859, Cushing Eells, as agent of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions decided to visit

the missionary property at Waiilatpu. He found army troops at the site of the present town of Walla Walla, engaged in constructing a new army post, and a hundred or more Americans settled near the post beginning the new town. Six miles westward, in the wilderness, lay Waiilatpu and to it Eells promptly took his way. He described his experience long after.

I passed over the ground that had received the blood of martyred missionary co-laborers. I stood beside the great grave that contains a portion of the remains of those massacred. The past, the then present, and the probable future were then thought of. I believe that the power of the Highest came upon me. Under the conviction thus produced, I determined then and there, to attempt the erection of a monument to the memory of Dr. Whitman in the form of a school of high Christian character.

At that moment the germ of Whitman Seminary, later Whitman College, was born in the heart and brain of one poor man; but such was his energy and devotion, that in the course of years his dream became a reality.

In the fall of that year the territorial legislature met at Olympia, and in December granted a charter to "An Institution of Learning in Walla Walla County to be known as Whitman Seminary." It was signed by the governor on December 20, 1859, and was the first charter granted to an educational institution in Washington Territory. The first ancient charter reads:

Sec 1. Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington. That there shall be established in Walla Walla county an institution of learning, for the instruction of persons of both sexes, in science and literature, to be called "Whitman Seminary"; and that Elkanah Walker, George H. Atkinson, Elisha S. Tanner, Erastus S. Joslyn, W. A. Tenney, H. H. Spalding, John C. Smith, James Craigie, and Cushing Eells, and their successors, are hereby declared to be a body politic and corporate, in law, by the name and style of the President and Trustees of Whitman Seminary.

This charter is almost identical, word for word, with the charter granted by the territory of Oregon in 1849 to Tualatin Academy. It was natural that Cushing Eells should look to this institution which he had helped to found and in which he was teaching before he definitely determined to establish Whitman Seminary, and it is probable that he was advised in this course by his friend, Rev. George H. Atkinson, D.D., of Portland, the one man who was a member of the Boards of Trustees of both institutions. There is no record of any discussion between Cushing Eells and Dr. Atkinson but the name of the latter stands first on the Tualatin Academy

board and second on the Whitman Seminary board, being preceded on the latter only by Elkanah Walker, Mr. Eells's associate in the Spokane Mission.

The difference between the two documents, though inconsiderable, was all in the direction of freeing the seminary from restrictions which were imposed upon the other institution such as the amount of land which could be held, the amount of capital stock, and the right of the legislature to withdraw the charter at any subsequent time.

Only two of the trustees named, James Craigie and J. C. Smith, lived in Walla Walla, and the town was too small at the time to provide an adequate number of trustees. Rev. W. A. Tenney was Minister of the Congregational Church at The Dalles and E. S. Joslyn, deacon in the same church, lived across the Columbia River at White Salmon. Dr. Atkinson lived in Portland, Rev. Elkanah Walker and Deacon Tanner at Forest Grove and Mr. Spalding at Hillsboro. All were Congregationalists. It is a tribute to the breadth of mind of Cushing Eells and his associates that no mention is made of any denominational connection for the as yet unborn institution.

The first meeting of the Board of Trustees was held December 17, 1860, but who attended it, where it was held, and what was done cannot now be known, because the records of the board were destroyed when Cushing Eells's home was burned in 1872. We know that a quorum was present and that Cushing Eells was elected President. Most of the original trustees probably never visited Walla Walla, it being easier to obtain a quorum at Portland or Forest Grove.

As the Valley filled with settlers and the town grew larger, the plan for the location of the seminary was changed. The first plan had been to build the seminary at the Whitman Mission and have a small, retired but moral, educated and religious town grow up around it leaving the bulk of business and population to go to Walla Walla six miles distant. In fact during the fall of the year 1863 a room of rough boards sixteen feet square was built on the home of Cushing Eells at the Mission Station and on December 3, Edwin Eells, his oldest son, commenced teaching Whitman Seminary. He was twenty-one years old and had received his education at Tualatin Academy and Pacific University. Thirteen scholars were enrolled on the first day and school lasted for three months. This was the first attempt to organize Whitman Seminary.

Two months after the close of this first educational effort, a Congregational minister, Rev. P. B. Chamberlain, arrived in the valley on an exploring tour and was persuaded by Mr. Eells to

locate in the town of Walla Walla. The organization of a Congregational Church, the first in Washington territory, speedily followed on January 1, 1865, three of the seven members belonging to the Eells family. Mr. Chamberlain, a man of marked ability and personal force, who had been pastor of the Congregational Church in Portland, joined heartily with Mr. Eells in his plan for Whitman Seminary and gave his earnest support, but convinced him after much consideration and discussion that the mission was not so suitable a location as the town. In November, 1864, the original plan was changed and the institution was relocated "at or near the city of Walla Walla." Mr. Chamberlain has told about the struggle to select a site. "Then commenced a wearisome, perplexing struggle to find a desirable and obtainable site. For, being only beggars forced to secure a site as a donation, we could not summarily take our pick according to our real preference. Several locations came up for consideration and were canvassed by the Trustees. One was where Judge Lasater's residence stands and the second was on Second Street where the wood yard now stands.—All of these sites were then vacant and desirable but in each case there were found to be peculiar difficulties involved. Some conditions weighed against the first. The second was upon A. A. Robert's homestead claim having still some years to run and hence could not at the time be deeded to the Trustees. The third was upon the claim of Mr. Shauble whose wife was for some years mentally disqualified to affix her signature to any legal documents. On all sides, therefore, circumstances were averse and after almost unlimited planning, waiting, working, possibly worrying, all of these sites were abandoned and the present location finally decided upon.

On May 8, 1866, the Trustees formally accepted the offer of a site of four acres made by Dr. D. S. Baker, Walla Walla's foremost man of wealth. By the middle of June \$1200 had been secured in addition to \$2000 given by Mr. Eells in fulfillment of his promise to give to the school one-half the appraised value of the mission claim. During the summer a wooden building was erected, twenty-six feet by forty-six feet, two stories high, with a cupola on the top.

On September 14 the following announcement was published by the trustees in the Walla Walla newspaper.

Whitman Seminary

The trustees of this institution take great pleasure in announcing that it will soon be opened for the reception of students of both sexes.

A fine commodious building has been erected on a desirable site adjacent to this city.

The first term will commence on Monday the 15th of October next and continue eleven weeks under the management of

Rev. P. B. Chamberlain, Principal
Miss Mary A. Hodgdon, Preceptoress
Miss Emily Sylvester, assistant teacher and
teacher of instrumental music.

Terms:

Tuition per term of eleven weeks:

Primary scholars (including those in mental arithmetic and primary geography), \$10.
All other English students, \$12.
Latin or French language, \$3.
Instrumental music, \$18.
Use of instruments for practice, \$4.
Vocal music taught without charge.

Occasional lectures on important, practicable subjects will be delivered before the scholars by gentlemen in various professions.

Tuition payable at the middle of each term.

No scholar received for less than half a term.

No deduction made for absences except in cases of prolonged sickness.

With these facilities and this corps of teachers, the trustees feel confident that the school will command itself to the public. They therefore solicit the patronage of all parents who desire to give their children a thorough and finished education.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Rev. Cushing Eells, President
Rev. P. B. Chamberlain, Sec'y
J. W. McKee, Treasurer
B. N. Sexton, Auditor
Rev. E. Walker
Stephen Maxon
Andrew Kees
J. F. Boyer

The names of only two of the original trustees appear in this list of eight, Rev. Cushing Eells and Rev. Elkanah Walker. It is not known when local men were substituted for non-residents since the records of the trustees were destroyed in the fire which consumed the home of Mr. Eells. It is probable that Dr. George H. Atkinson continued as a member of the Board.

The *Walla Walla Statesman* for October 19, 1866, contains the following:

Dedication of the Whitman Seminary.

In accordance with previous announcements, the building hereafter to be known as the Whitman Seminary was dedicated on Saturday, October 13, last, with appropriate ceremonies. The building is two stories high, with a cupola on top and is possibly the most imposing structure east of

the mountains. The address on the occasion was delivered by Rev. Mr. Chamberlain and was pronounced by those in attendance, a masterly effort. It included an able and conclusive argument in favor of popular education, and for over an hour held the audience in breathless attention.

From a paper read by Mr. McKee, the Treasurer of the Board, we learn that the institution is indebted to the Rev. Cushing Eells for a donation of one half of the mission land claim owned and occupied by him. The land has been amicably divided by a committee appointed by the Board of Trustees and the one half appropriated to the Seminary is valued at \$3000. The property is now for sale and the proceeds will be held for the benefit of the institution. The trustees express their gratitude to the Reverend Mr. Eells for the spirit of benevolence which he has manifested and for his zealous efforts for the ultimate accomplishment of the establishment of a necessary educational institution in the valley, to be reared and perpetuated in memory of Doctor Whitman who sacrificed his life in the early settlement of this country.

The trustees are also indebted to D. S. Baker, esq., for the donation of the land for the accommodation of the building together with a liberal cash donation. Also to numerous citizens who have cheerfully contributed sums from \$2.50 to \$250. To all these friends the trustees express their thanks and doubt not that the public will be compensated by the benefits which the community will derive in the usefulness of the seminary.

The builders, Messrs. Dexter and Leidy, certainly deserve credit for their promptness in fulfilling their contract and the substantial manner in which the work has been executed. From the treasurer's report we learn that the entire cost of the building, etc., in its present condition is \$4,842.42; the total amount of donations at the present time, \$2,849.50. The trustees have borrowed \$1000, making a total of \$3,849.50, and showing a deficiency to cover the present cost of \$992.92.

The Seminary was opened for pupils on Monday, October 15 last, and on the first day the names of 36 scholars were placed on the roll. It will thus be seen that the institution is under the most favorable auspices and that the trustees and all others who have aided the enterprise have abundant reason to feel encouraged.

The wooden building in which the Seminary was housed stood at the end of a wide dusty road leading into the country northeast of the little town. Across the end of this road a fence ran, and in this fence was a stile from which two paths led, one a hundred yards to the left to the residence of Dr. D. S. Baker, and the other straight eastward to the country home of Mr. H. P. Isaacs near the great spring from which gushed the stream afterwards known as College Creek. Beyond these two homes open country lay with no buildings for many years to come except farm houses on distant streams of the valley. Back of the school house and half encircling it to the east ran the little stream on its way to Mill Creek. Beyond was a level plain overgrown with sage brush and rye grass which

served as a playground for the scholars at first. Only the ground floor of the school house was finished. One entered it by a door on the middle of the north end from a simple porch and came into a small vestibule formed by a partition run across the large room inside. Two doors opened through this partition, one at the extreme left and the other at the right. Within the school room a low platform stood against the partition and on it a teacher's table and chair. Four rows of school seats stretched down the room to the back, near the center of which stood a large stove. A door opened through the back wall to the out of doors. Three windows on each side of the room gave ample light. The floor was of rough boards and the walls were of board. No adornments or decorations of any kind were to be seen. The seats varied in size to accommodate children of different ages and in this one room, supplemented later by the use of a small room on the second floor, Whitman Seminary pursued its career from 1866 to 1882.

The stove burned wood which was piled at the back of the school house. Near the back door stood a bucket of water procured from the spring branch near by. A few maps hung on the wall and a black-board was behind the teacher's desk. Prof. W. D. Lyman, in writing about it long afterward said:

The building was painted white and with its cupola suggested the school houses of New England. There was often a suggestion of New England ideals and atmosphere in the early life of the institution. The simple virtues were inculcated and rigorous discipline maintained. School was opened and closed with prayer and religion was constantly referred to and urged upon the students. If the piety was sometimes severe, it was genuine and the scholars learned to respect the goodness and moral earnestness of their teachers.

Mr. Chamberlain conducted religious exercises each day at the beginning and the close of school. The curriculum was adapted to the needs of the scholars who ranged in age from twenty down to six years. After six months Mr. Chamberlain resigned and on April 1, 1867, Rev. Cushing Eells succeeded him, teaching the remainder of the first year, and continuing to act up to June, 1869.

A student of the Seminary, Sarah Ann Miller (Mrs. E. F. Baker) of Pasadena says:

In the first week of January, 1868, there came to its doors a little girl from a little country school, a stranger and unsophisticated, but with a passion for learning. She was welcomed by an elderly man of serene, benign countenance, the principal and instructor of the Seminary, Rev. Cushing Eells, affectionately called by many, "Father Eells." To my simple mind (I was the little girl), that initial building seemed palatial.

So high—so spacious, so many windows! A large stove in the rear, red with huge pieces of wood, sent genial warmth throughout the room. Behind the platform whereon were the teacher's desk, table and chairs, a big blackboard extended from one to the other of the two doors, one at either end of that front north wall. Above the center of the platform and blackboard, hung a many sided clock, warningly ticking off the precious minutes between recitations. Comfortable seats with good desks—each with enclosed shelf for books and slates, served two students each. Recitations went on continuously in this room under the guidance of Mr. Eells, as we, his pupils addressed him; also in the second story room the assistant or preceptoress, Miss Mary A. Hodgdon received classes from below, and from which she sometimes sent them down precipitately for further study when recitations had shown lack of preparation.

Miss Hodgdon was a most interesting character, of brilliant intellect, intensely alive in all her being, with high ideals of scholarship and insisting on some nearness to that standard, with little patience of stupidity, none with indolence nor neglect. Hearing many reports of her sharpness from my mates there before my entrance, I was obsessed by fear of feeling the sting of her tongue, but never did, and I counted her a choice friend to the end of her life. However, to that fear, I found a comforting antidote in the gentleness and patience of him who presided over the lower room.

Our morning session began with a brief devotional service, a verse of scripture, well-chosen, impressively given, repeated in concert, sometimes followed by comment; then a hymn from "The Cornhill Harp," (I wonder if it is still extant); then a prayer; all this led by Father Eells. He sang with most decided accent, thus leading well. I think there was no instrument in those days, though later there was a large melodeon. On Friday afternoons, we had a "sing" of an hour or so, sometimes using "The Golden Wreath." A favorite of our leader was, "Be Kind to the Loved Ones at Home." Miss Hodgdon's voice, a clear soprano, rang out sweetly. I can still hear her singing "The Shining Shore," from her seat behind her small table, Sometimes Father Eells, on such an occasion, made use of his bass viol, or was it a 'cello?

After the singing, Miss Hodgdon arose and read our weekly reports, after which essays, "Compositions," were read by the girls, recitations given by the boys, Miss Hodgdon rapidly knitting the while. She was never idle. One day, to a group of students sitting around the stove, chatting she said: "Young gentlemen, you should learn to knit or to make tatting." To a bunch of girls talking and giggling, "Young ladies, why do you not go out and play or walk instead of sitting and gossiping?" A shining example of industry and keen interest in every phase of living, was dear Miss Hodgdon.

"Did Father Eells approve of corporal punishment?" I am asked. "When moral suasion failed, yes," I should say. For instance:

A certain boy was led by him to the unfinished room upstairs where he lodged and had his simple meals during the school week. There, punishment (probably spanking) was administered after which the boy was

made to kneel while his judge prayed for him. He told his pal that that was the worse part of the job.

In the school-room, our master wore moccasins and thus came noiselessly upon idler or evil-doer without warning. Practical lessons were taught from the manner of our schoolwork. Minute care, or the reverse, in finding places on our maps would predict a like habit in our ordinary occupations. Orderly or otherwise placing of problems on slate or black-board would show how our dishes would be placed in the cupboard or the tools in the shop, etc.

In our class of U. S. History, when considering the Indians of the Northwest, how Father Eells's face would light lovingly when speaking of the "good Nez Perces" always "the White Man's Friends." He would give us many an incident of those early missionary days, sometimes quoting with smiling, glowing countenance, beginning thus: "Said good Dr. Whitman," etc. Bible language came to his lips with perfect naturalness for ordinary uses. I had worked a problem on the board. He kindly gave me credit, but added: "And yet show I unto you a more excellent way." Often as study time began, he would tap his hand rhythmically, singing cheerily: "Books, books, I love my books. And I will study too."

I was a student for a much longer time under later teachers in Whitman Seminary but had none who left with me the deep impression of our Founder, the truly saintly Father Eells.

After more than a year out of school, six months of which had been spent teaching a country school, I was happily surprised by being called to assist Rev. P. B. Chamberlain in the Seminary. And so I had the desk and chair in that Upper Room so charged with the presence of Miss Hodgdon! Four hours of each day I held sway over the primary part of the students besides receiving certain classes from below for recitations. Two hours, from two to four in the afternoon, I was a student in astronomy and physics classes.

Mr. Chamberlain was a man of magnetic personality, forceful character and lofty ideals.

I have been asked as to the curriculum. I have already referred to my class in United States History in that first year. I also studied Elementary Algebra then. Later, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Advance Algebra and Geometry. In reading Caesar, I was a class of one.

C. W. Phillips, of Walla Walla, who as a boy attended Whitman Seminary, writes,

Prisoner's Base and Shinney were favorite games. And what is all that thickly built up portion of East Walla Walla was then open playground for us. We had a great "swimming hole" in Mill Creek where we often enjoyed ourselves during the noon hour in summer and that was the frequent cause of punishment, when we failed to hear the bell when school "took up."

Among others they tell of a certain day when a large dam had been formed at the mouth of College Creek and salmon trout in great numbers were running up the stream nearly to its head just above where

Billings Hall is now located. The temptation was too great to be resisted, and every boy in school "cut" that afternoon. Father Eells, who was then teaching, saw that corporal punishment was the only suitable and adequate corrective, but the number of culprits was so large that he was not equal to the task. Therefore he selected a proper number of very effective birch switches, and taking the boys two by two, judiciously selected, he made them a very solemn speech and then had each pair of boys apply the birch to each other. This they did with extreme energy and efficiency and also with great economy of time. At the moment when he judged that they had given and received enough, Father Eells interrupted operations with uplifted hands and then after a few affectionate and solemn words he knelt with them in prayer that this experience might be blessed to their soul's good.

The Seminary was closed during the year 1869-70. In the autumn of 1870 the board employed as principal W. W. Freeman, a graduate of Dartmouth College, who continued in charge about seven-eighths of the academic year. He was assisted by Miss Sarah Earle. In the fall of the year 1871 Mr. Chamberlain was again employed and kept the school in operation for nearly two years. He was a man of remarkable mental and oratorical gifts, and seems to have produced a profound effect on all students and people of that time in Walla Walla. His stern ideas of discipline and his rigid religious views, which rendered him at times liable to misunderstanding on the part of the students, were counteracted by a rare geniality and sweetness in all the common affairs of life.

The teacher who had charge of the Seminary for the longest continuous period and who perhaps in consequence made the deepest impression on his students was Professor William Mariner who was principal from 1874, until March, 1876. He was a graduate of Harvard College, and a man of remarkable scholarship, especially in the field of languages. Born of Quaker ancestry at Portland, Maine, December 28, 1815, and brought up in wealth and luxury, given the advantages of European travel and study, he had devoted himself from his early manhood to study and teaching. For thirteen years, before the outbreak of the Civil War, he was on the faculty of Cumberland University at Lebanon, Tennessee. But, when obliged to leave on account of his northern birth, he conducted a private school at Owenboro, Kentucky, and then at Mt. Zion, Illinois. He was professor of Latin in Lincoln University, Lincoln, Illinois, and for a time was on the editorial staff of the *Banner of Peace*, published at Nashville, Tennessee. Dr. N. G. Blalock, a Trustee of the Seminary, had been family physician of the Mariner family in Illinois and was instrumental in bringing Professor Mariner to the Walla Walla Valley. After teaching at Waitsburg in the fall of 1873 he assumed charge of

the Seminary in March, 1874, and continued in charge for two years. Intensely near-sighted, he was a man of books rather than of practical ability or of close human contacts. Probably his scholarship was too fine for the crude community and its boys and girls, but his influence was deep even though not widely felt. He illustrated the fine quality of character and culture which the Seminary brought to the town. He was a man of deep piety, a Cumberland Presbyterian, and a gentle, serious soul.

He was sixty years old, unaccustomed to the vexations and worries of a frontier school and the trouble of collecting his own salary. He imitated Father Eells in taking up his abode on the second floor of the Seminary building and there he lived, slept and ate meals cooked by himself—very badly cooked, too, it is to be feared, for he fell sick and was taken by Dr. Blalock and his generous wife to their own home, where, after a few weeks' nursing, he regained his strength, there being really nothing the matter with him except lack of nourishment.

He had an extraordinary gift for languages. With Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, German, Spanish and Italian he was thoroughly familiar, besides having a keen interest in all other languages with which he came in contact. In a year of travel through Europe after his graduation from Harvard, he found only one place in which he could not understand the inhabitants or make himself understood by them. This was a little remote village in France.

One day while he was on the editorial staff of the *Banner of Peace* at Nashville, Tennessee, a man came into the editorial rooms with a letter in a strange tongue which he declared to have great business importance. To the suggestion that he submit it to the Faculty of Cumberland University at Lebanon, the man replied that he had done so, but that no one there could read it. "Leave it with me and come for it in the morning." said Prof. Mariner, who suspected that the letter was written in Portuguese, a language with which he was not familiar. That night, with his knowledge of Spanish and the help of his dictionaries, he translated the letter and had it ready for the man on his return the next morning. The man was so pleased that he gave Prof. Mariner \$15 for the service.

When he had retired from teaching and was living with his sons on their ranch in Eastern Oregon, he became interested in a newspaper which was taken regularly by a Swede in their employ. When one of his sons asked him if he knew Scandinavian he said that he did not but he wanted to learn to read it; and thereafter he read it each week from beginning to end as long as the Swede remained on the ranch. Even in his old age, when his mind had

begun to fail, he retained his familiarity with foreign languages.

The *Walla Walla Union* said on March 25, 1876:

Yesterday Prof. Wm. Mariner closed his school with appropriate ceremony. In a few days the professor will leave here for Olathe, Kansas, where he will open a new educational institution. During his stay here, Prof. Mariner has earned the reputation of being a first class school teacher. His patrons greatly regret that he has felt it his duty to accept the advantageous offer made him in the East.

He died in his son's home at Spokane, September 11, 1894. The school seems to have remained closed for the remainder of that academic year, but in the *Walla Walla Union* for July 22, 1876 the following item appears:

Whitman Seminary.—This institution of learning will be reopened on the first Monday in September with Prof. L. K. Grim as Principal, and S. B. Sweeney as Assistant. Prof. Grim is a graduate of a Pennsylvania College, and a teacher of ten years experience. Mr. Sweeney is well recommended as a scholar and teacher. They propose to carry on an intermediate and collegiate department thus furnishing a higher grade of tuition than it is possible to obtain in other schools of the city and county. Let them be encouraged!

Professor L. K. Grim, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, had won the rank of Captain in the Civil War and was a man of outstanding character, energy and physical strength, with a trace of eccentricity which led to frequent changes of occupation but served to endear him to his pupils. Prof. Grim was very different from Prof. Mariner, and, being comparatively young, full of life and vigor, was liked, though somewhat feared, by his pupils. He was a tall and muscular man, able to out-run, out-jump and out-throw anybody that ever appeared at the Seminary. He was a man of fine mind and education, but without continuity of aim, so that he went somewhat irregularly from one occupation to another, sometimes practicing law and sometimes farming as well as teaching.

Professor Grim taught for two years with eminent success, judging by the recollections of his pupils. He was admired by the boys for his athletic prowess and was universally respected in the town for his upright character, his outstanding scholarship and the remarkable influence which he exerted over his pupils. He was, of course, dependent for his living upon the receipts from tuition for himself and his assistants, and this precarious means of livelihood in due time exhausted his endurance. He gave up teaching and took to farming.

In September, 1878, the Seminary opened under the principalship of Rev. Horace Lyman, of Forest Grove, Oregon, whose

services as the founder of the First Congregational Church of Portland, of La Creole Academy at Dallas, and many years of service at Pacific University, entitled him to be regarded as one of the pioneer builders of Oregon, and gave him a wide circle of friends and acquaintances there. Coming to Walla Walla in the fall of 1878 he began work under what seemed the most favorable auspices of any principal up to that time, with a large attendance and the hearty support of all in any way connected with the institution. But within six weeks he was taken dangerously ill of typhoid fever, and was not afterwards able to do anything in the school. His son, W. D. Lyman, carried it on through the winter, until he was obliged to resume his duties in Pacific University in the spring of '79.

When the Seminary was thus about to close, one of the boys, Howard R. Keylor, rode on horseback to Dry Creek and induced Professor Grim, who was farming there, to come to Walla Walla and again take charge of the forsaken Seminary. Professor Grim heeded this voice from Macedonia, and completed the year's work.

The W. D. Lyman referred to above, who, in the illness of his father, helped to tide the Seminary over another year in its troubled life, afterwards became Professor of History in Whitman College and contributed to the *Whitman College Quarterly* a vivid account of Seminary days. He says:

No teacher could tell for any length of time what to expect or what to rely on for the future. Sometimes a large number, sometimes a mere handful of pupils greeted the worried and doubtful principal on the coming day. It was just as the whim of the parents or children might lead them. Many of those who came at first would be uncertain whether they would stay or not, and might hang around, in a haze of doubt for a week or two and then disappear or stay, according to whether or not they "liked the looks of the principal, or liked the rules, or whether the teachers would have classes in studies they wanted to take." Most of them wanted to take arithmetic and book-keeping, having a vague idea that those studies beyond all others offered an open avenue to wealth and business success. The first installment of pupils in the fall always consisted of town boys and girls, the former predominating, as keen as razors, a deal better posted on down-town matters than they had any right to be, and with no more idea of order and school discipline than so many cayuse ponies.

After a seminary teacher had got something of a system in the handling of this mixed and turbulent mass of the first picking, and just as he was beginning to hope that he would have a respite from organizing and re-organizing, his heart would sink within him and chaos would reign again, for along in October and November and December there would come, at

the most uncertain and inconvenient times, the boys and girls from the ranches, red-cheeked, round-limbed and independent lasses, and big, robustious, stentorian-voiced boys, no two of them in the same place in their studies, and every one of them expecting special classes to be formed for his special benefit, all of them profoundly uncertain as to what kind of a course they wanted, though some preferring some kind of a "practical business course," and equally doubtful as to how long they would stay, that depending mainly on when the plowing season should begin.

Although there was a Board of Trustees in continuous existence, there was little continuity in the life of the Seminary. Its teachers never stayed for more than two years at a time, and sometimes not so long. Sometimes they made a deep impression upon the minds of their students, and again others passed through the building leaving scarcely a trace of their presence. It is difficult even to learn their names at the present day. This lack of continuity in the school's development was due in large measure to the absence of Rev. Cushing Eells, who after the burning of his house in 1872, had taken his wife to Puget Sound where they lived for the rest of their lives. He only returned to the east side for the summer time when he visited the scattered settlements and preached at many places. There was no endowment to provide income for the school and the Trustees were not greatly interested in an educational experiment which depended for its maintenance solely upon the tuition received from the students who might be in attendance.

Popular subscriptions for improving the school or meeting any deficit were not thought of. Apart from contributions made by Mr. Eells himself, there is no record of any gift made to the Seminary from the time it opened in 1866 until it closed its doors, apparently for the last time in 1881. It may have been that members of the Board of Trustees paid from their own pockets for wood and school equipment, but there is no evidence of such generosity, and the teachers who assumed responsibility for conducting the school assumed it at their own risk, understanding that all which they could hope to receive from it was what was left over from tuition receipts after paying the necessary expenses for wood, light and repairs. There was, therefore, no extravagance and no luxurious equipment. Hard seats, bare board floor, a wood stove, and a pail of spring water characterized the Seminary during the sixteen years of its existence.

If this Spartan school might seem too plain and simple for a suitable education, it should be remembered that many persons obtained their education in it who won distinction in later life. Some of the young men went into the law school of the University

of Michigan and to similar higher institutions where they were accepted, tried and not found wanting. It is hard to believe that thorough and adequate foundations for a higher education could be laid under such primitive conditions, but the men who were the principals of the Seminary were men of earnest and noble lives with ideals of scholarship not to be expected in a community like Walla Walla at that time, and with an earnestness of purpose which somehow communicated itself to some, if not all, of their pupils. Here many men of ability received their only education and mounted by it to later eminence.

For the next two years the Seminary was not opened because no knight errant teacher appeared, courageous enough to assume, single-handed, the responsibility for it.

The end of its troubled existence seemed in sight, and the people of the town thought that the brave venture for higher education had ended in failure. But the problem of its future weighed heavily on the minds of its friends, particularly Father Eells and Rev. George H. Atkinson, the great hearted State Superintendent of Congregational Home Missions in Oregon. The latter began to form far reaching plans for the development of the institution.

In June, 1881, the Board of Trustees passed a series of resolutions presented by Dr. Atkinson, and decided to employ a suitable principal and lady assistant for the academic department at a salary not less than \$1500 a year. Rev. and Mrs. E. R. Beach were employed at the sum named. In September, 1881, the Seminary opened for what was to prove the last year of its existence as Whitman Seminary. Mr. Beach, who came from Montana, and had but one arm, is described by Professor Lyman as "a somewhat irascible gentleman, who was gifted with a voice so powerful that, when lifted in words of admonition, the people around for several blocks would run to their doors to discover the cause. (He, like Father Eells, and Prof. Mariner, occupied the little room in the Seminary at times.) Once some of the boys, believing themselves aggrieved, went by night to the Seminary yard where Prof. Beach's wagon stood and were beginning to smash the back of it when suddenly the Professor himself appeared, armed with a Henry rifle, and drove the marauders into Mill creek, then in flood, so that they were nearly drowned. He told the students in the morning how burglars had undertaken to rob the Seminary during the night."

Much good work was done during the first part of the year, especially by Mrs. Beach, a bright haired and vivacious little woman, who seems to have been one of the most capable and popular teachers in the history of the seminary. Apparently she did

much to rouse the spirit of ambition for education among the young people of the place, and the impetus which she gave carried over into the subsequent college era with a force that was of great value in the days of enlarged growth. Later in the year it was found that the income from tuition receipts was insufficient to pay the salary agreed on, and, after a discussion of the situation by the board, Mr. Beach undertook the entire responsibility of carrying on the school for the remainder of the year. He did so until his health gave way and the school was forced to close.

In the background behind these outstanding principals, passes the shadowy procession of their assistants. Some of them, like Miss Hodgdon at the beginning, and Mrs. Beach at the end, still retain their vitality, but most of them are scarcely more than the shadow of a name. They include, Miss Mary A. Hodgdon, Miss Emily W. Sylvester, Rev. and Mrs. D. E. Jennings, Miss Sarah Miller, Prof. Crawford, Miss Simpson, Miss Sarah Earle, S. B. Sweeney, E. N. Nixon, J. W. Brock, Mr. Jones, Prof. Rodgers and Mrs. Beach. Some of these were principals for a short time but no record of their services remains and they live only in memory.

In reviewing the years which elapsed between the chartering of Whitman Seminary and its apparent failure in 1881, one must remember the character of the town in which it was located and the lack of continuous leadership in its development. A preceding chapter, "The Growth of a Western Town," describes the environment in which the Seminary was placed, and the people who were its citizens. It would be hard to find a place less suited as the home of an enduring college. But the lack of continuous leadership contributed even more weightily to the collapse of the Seminary. "An institution is the shadow of a man," and unfortunately no man arose whose shadow was long enough or whose influence was continuous enough to give vitality to the struggling institution. Cushing Eells withdrew from the field in 1872, discouraged by the burning of his home and his apparent lack of success in establishing an institution which should be self-maintaining, and no one else appeared strong enough and patient enough to cope with the insuperable obstacles which lack of resources and lack of friends presented. Not until such a leader could be found and contributions secured could the institution hope to live.

But the character and the scholarship of the men who successively acted as the principals of Whitman Seminary must not be forgotten. They made a deep and abiding impression upon the minds of those who knew them, both pupils and citizens. They are in surprising contrast to their environment. Few college grad-

uates were numbered among the citizens of early Walla Walla, and the standards were low. People were interested in business and pleasure more than in education, and it was not until their children presented to them the problem of education in a practical form, that they began to feel the need of higher education for them. The future life of the town was unconsciously molded by these principals who were graduates of Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, Williams, and the University of Pennsylvania, who struggled apparently in vain to maintain high ideals in an unfavorable environment. They sowed the seed which did not ripen till a decade had passed, but they may truly be said to have laid the foundation of Whitman College.



CHAPTER VI

MIRACLE

Providentially, at this crisis in the fortunes of Whitman Seminary, when it had apparently died from poverty and neglect, the man was found who could miraculously breathe new life into the institution and within a few years transform it into a genuine college, respected for its efficiency and full of promise. The man was Alexander J. Anderson, Ph.D., President of the Territorial University at Seattle. The one who was responsible for finding him and persuading him to undertake the difficult task was Rev. Dr. George H. Atkinson, of Oregon.

Dr. Atkinson had been a charter member of the Board of Trustees of Whitman Seminary but his name does not appear upon the list of Trustees signed to a public announcement in 1866 in a Walla Walla paper and he seems to have taken no active interest in the affairs of the institution until 1880 when his name is again found among the Trustees. He was a graduate of Yale College, one of the outstanding pioneers of Oregon, and as deeply interested in education as in church administration and the preaching of the gospel. He heard about the deplorable condition of the Seminary and came to Walla Walla to visit it. He boldly determined that the only chance for its survival was that it should be transformed into a college of the American type, which would supply the needs for higher education in the Inland Empire and eventually obtain financial support from the wealth of the east. When he was in Boston, in 1880, the Directors of the American College and Education Society had expressed to him the hope of being able to begin the work of endowment of the institution as soon as it should have a freshman class. It was he who had been responsible for the calling of Rev. and Mrs. Beach on a guaranteed salary, in the hope that they might succeed in remodeling the institution; but the illness of Mr. Beach brought the plan to naught and, at the end of 1881, the Seminary had been closed for

a year and little interest in its revival could be seen. Dr. Atkinson decided that bolder steps must be taken and that the future of the institution would depend upon finding a man, who, by his administrative ability and teaching skill, could inspire confidence on the part of the public and lift the institution to a new and higher level.

His plan for transforming the Seminary into Whitman College did not receive the approval of Cushing Eells who was too cautious and too timid by nature to venture so bold a step, and was not, as was Dr. Atkinson, familiar with conditions in the east and the possibility of interesting eastern people of wealth in the development of a western college. It was, therefore, against the advice of the President of the Board of Trustees, Cushing Eells, that Dr. Atkinson began to initiate steps for the new measure. What initial support he had from the other Trustees cannot now be known, but a strong man is apt to have his way and Dr. Atkinson was a strong man of great administrative experience. He realized that the success of his project depended upon finding the right man who could bring to it experience, energy, wisdom and patience sufficient for the difficult undertaking. Dr. Atkinson believed in Walla Walla as the capital of the Inland Empire and as the most suitable place at which to locate a college which would supply the intellectual and spiritual needs of eastern Washington, eastern Oregon, and northern Idaho.

The man whom Dr. Atkinson selected as suitable for the occasion was personally well known to him, but it seemed absurd to think of securing him for an institution not yet born or prematurely born. Dr. Anderson was the president and the successful president, of the Territorial University at Seattle, popular, energetic and tactful. He was not a stranger to Dr. Atkinson, for he had been a member of the faculty of Pacific University of which Dr. Atkinson was a Trustee, and he had been principal of the Portland high school under Dr. Atkinson's observation. But what chance was there of securing an experienced, successful and well paid University President to undertake the forlorn hope of resuscitating Whitman Seminary and transforming it into a new institution, Whitman College? Most men would have despaired of success, but not so Dr. Atkinson. The one element in the situation which might make the vital difference, was the ill health of Mrs. Anderson in the damp climate of Puget Sound. During the five years of Dr. Anderson's successful presidency at Seattle, her health had been failing and it seemed likely that the clear, dry air of the upland valley of Walla Walla would be better suited to her physical need.

The Eastern division of the Territorial Institute for Teachers was held at Walla Walla in the fall of 1881, and both Dr. Atkinson and Dr. Anderson were in attendance. It was during a session of this conference, that Dr. Atkinson sought out Dr. Anderson and discussed the local situation with him. We have the latter's own account of the conversation.

One day we met just outside of the Baker School building, where for an hour we talked over the main points of a Christian school for the youth of Eastern Oregon and Eastern Washington. Two schemes were presented. One was the Eells foundation; the other was a gift of considerable land from the railroad king, Henry Villard. The land Villard would willingly give at some eligible point on the Northern Pacific railroad. No mature plan or location can be said to have resulted from this hour's consultation, yet it was not many months till a letter was received from Dr. Atkinson asking me to accept the position of principal of Whitman Seminary.

At this time I was in the fifth year of my presidency of the Territorial University of Seattle, and while I desired to cross the Cascade Mountains, or even go to the extreme part of the state, for the purpose of a better climate for my invalid wife, yet I thought it unwise to go to Whitman Seminary in the capacity of principal; but replied to the Board of Trustees that if they would elect me President of Whitman College, and if the friends of the institution would come forward with sufficient funds and assured pledges of money, I would accept the presidency, and would leave no stone unturned to make the school a success. Why I asked to be elected president rather than principal was not wholly for myself, but fully as much or more to uplift and aggrandize the higher, nobler work to which we looked forward.

Whether the suggestion that the institution be made into a college came from Dr. Atkinson or President Anderson cannot be positively determined. The former had in mind the possibility of securing aid for a college from the American College and Education Society of Boston; the latter had described his motive in making the suggestion. From the fact that Dr. Atkinson invited him to be principal of Whitman Seminary and that he himself proposed being made president of Whitman College raises the question whether the idea of Whitman College may have been born first in the mind of President Anderson. Certainly it was not born in the mind of Cushing Eells, the founder of the institution. Dr. Anderson says:

A month or two afterwards Dr. Atkinson came over from Portland to see me at my home in Seattle. In the meantime he had gone to Cheney to consult with Rev. Cushing Eells, the real father of what is now Whitman College, concerning the proposed change, but that good man was not

quite ready for so great a change in the reorganization of the school, and judging from the past, one could not be sure but that he was right. After much discussion the change was decided upon and Mr. Eells never regretted it.

Meanwhile, in Walla Walla, active efforts were being made to meet the conditions which President Anderson had laid down in his provisional letter of acceptance. Such success was obtained that on March 29, 1882, the Trustees finally ventured to elect him "President of Whitman College and Seminary," and to elect also as members of the faculty Mrs. Louisa Phelps Anderson, M.S., his wife, and Louis F. Anderson, A.B., his son.

The first public notice of the contemplated revival and extension of the Seminary appears in the *Walla Walla Union* of April 1, 1882.

The Trustees of Whitman Seminary held a meeting yesterday afternoon, at which time it was decided to renovate the school house and also to employ three competent instructors. It is the intention of the Board to adopt a system coextensive with that of the high schools and to employ teachers who are fully competent. To do this and to guarantee the expenses, a paper was drawn up and circulated among a number of our citizens which provides that the people who sign it become responsible for the expenses of the school to the amount of \$3000 per annum. In other words, if the sums received for tuition do not reach the estimated expense—\$3000 a year—the subscribers agree to pay the difference. A number of gentlemen have already signed the agreement, and the Committee expect today to be able to increase the number of signers to at least twenty-five. Dr. Baker is reported as agreeing to give \$250 a year for four years toward the support of the Seminary. Should the financial arrangements be completed, experienced instructors can be obtained without difficulty. The Trustees have already corresponded with a gentlemen of well known scholarly attainments, and he has answered them that he will accept the Presidency of the school, should they succeed in their present plans.

Apparently Dr. Atkinson took an active part. To quote Dr. Anderson, "Again I received a letter from Dr. Atkinson, after he had interviewed the warm friends of the school, saying that good pledges and funds would be forthcoming as soon as needed, as some forty trustworthy men of Walla Walla had given the requisite pledges." The names of the signers of the subscription paper are lost, but they included, besides those of the trustees, William Kirkman, D. S. Baker, B. F. Stone, and R. R. Rees.

President Anderson presented his resignation to the regents of the University of Washington on April 29, 1882, and they, in due course, adopted the following complimentary resolution: "The

Committee appointed at the last meeting to prepare resolutions expressing the high regard in which Prof. Anderson is held by the Board reported as follows, which on motion of Regent Jacobs was unanimously adopted.

Resolved by the Board of Regents of the University of Washington Territory—that we deeply regret the necessity that compells Prof. A. J. Anderson's resignation of the Presidency thereof—that we gratefully acknowledge that the University has enjoyed a degree of prosperity and efficiency under his administration not enjoyed before; and in parting with him we cheerfully recommend him as an accomplished and thorough teacher, and a Gentleman of fine executive ability in the management of an institution of learning.

In appreciation of his services an impressive farewell reception was given him in Seattle on July 18, immediately preceding his departure for Walla Walla to begin the last and most successful chapter of his life. The honorary degree of Ph.D. was conferred upon him on June 7 by Pacific University.

The President-elect, Alexander Jay Anderson was forty-nine years of age, and was at the climax of a long and successful experience as teacher and administrator. He was born November 6, 1832, of Scotch parents, at Gray Abbey, Ireland. His father was a naturalized American citizen, and inhabitant of Illinois, but temporarily in Ireland in pursuit of his business, a building contractor. When the boy was eight years old, his father was killed by a falling timber, and his mother, with five young children, had to struggle with the pioneer conditions of Illinois. Throughout his youth, hard work was his lot, but his mother, besides giving him careful religious training, always encouraged him to obtain an education. He showed so much ability and ambition in his school work that it was decided he should take a college course, a purpose in which his eldest sister assisted with noble sacrifice. He entered Knox College at Galesburg under the administration of a great President, Jonathan Blanchard, but at the end of his sophomore year was compelled to drop out for two years, spent in teaching, to acquire sufficient funds for the completion of his college course. The course was the old-time classical one, and his acquaintance with his teachers was intimate. He was graduated with the A.B. degree in 1856, and entered upon his career as school master and educator. One year after graduation he married Louisa Phelps, also a teacher, and a graduate of Willoughby Seminary in Ohio. Six children were born to them.

After several years' work in the public schools he assumed charge of Fowler Institute at Newark, Illinois, which, under his ad-

ministration, became a strong academy. In 1867 he was called to the superintendency of schools at Lexington, Illinois. These were the early days of the introduction of natural methods, and Mr. Anderson was in the forefront of the progressives; when he left Lexington in 1869, it had an efficient school system.

His experience in Illinois was during the greatest period of its development and history, the period which changed it from a frontier state to one of the most advanced in the Union. During these years Abraham Lincoln was one of the great figures in its frontier life and it was one of Dr. Anderson's most treasured memories to recall that great day at Galesburg when, with the students of Knox, in front of one of their own halls, he had heard Lincoln flay Stephen A. Douglas with logic, wit and satire.

In 1869 Mr. Anderson was called to the principalship of Tualatin Academy, the preparatory department of Pacific University at Forest Grove, Oregon. He went, with his family, by way of the Pacific Railway as far as Sacramento; from there by boat to San Francisco, then by the ocean route to Portland, and by stage to his destination. He served as Principal of the Academy for one year, and then joined to it the Professorship of Mathematics in the University.

In 1874 he accepted the headship of the Central School in Portland, and later became Principal of its High School, where his success, together with the reputation gained at Pacific University, obtained for him from the Regents of the University of Washington a call to its presidency in 1877. During the next five years he reorganized the so-called University and introduced courses of college grade, the first college class being graduated in 1882 with his son Louis Francis as a member.

When President Anderson and his family set out from Seattle for Walla Walla, they could not go by rail but must take boat from Elliott Bay to Commencement Bay where the village of Tacoma was coming into existence, there take train for Portland, Oregon, thence by boat up the Columbia River to The Dalles, make the carry of seven miles to Celilo, thence by boat again to Wallula, where the first railroad built in the Pacific northwest brought them at last to Walla Walla.

The town to which they came was very different from what it had been in the '60's. The rough and roistering mining town had given place to a farming town of a much quieter character. Cowboys still frequented its streets, for the day of cattle raising had not entirely been displaced by the raising of wheat. The army post just west of the town furnished a rough and oftentimes disorderly element which thronged the saloons and gambling halls

and helped to continue the earlier days of drinking, revelry, and lawlessness, but the town was a quieter town and more law abiding. It was strung out on both sides of its crooked main street, the original Indian trail which led from the Umatilla to the Nez Perce reservations. One street ran parallel to Main on each side of it with cross streets at irregular intervals. The settlement had crossed Mill Creek to the east but was still mainly located on its west bank. The stores and saloons which lined Main Street were for the most part one story buildings with a false front which gave them an effect of increased elevation. A few two story buildings were among them. Main Street was a long, broad dusty road. Wide board walks lined it on each side for a few blocks west of Mill Creek. These sidewalks were built by the property owners and were not all on a uniform level so that steps were necessary in places. Neither Main Street nor any other street in town had been paved. When, in the summer and fall, wagons and trucks hauling wheat drove into town, they cut up the light volcanic ash soil until the air was full of dust. As no water supply had yet been provided the only remedy for the dustiness of the streets was to spread them with straw. Main Street was thus regularly covered and some of the side streets, but, in the residence district the air was filled with dust, and in walking or in driving, one inevitably became dust-covered. The quality of the dust was so fine that it penetrated everywhere. When occasionally a strong southwesterly wind blew it carried vast clouds of fine dust everywhere, filling the atmosphere, darkening the sky, making breathing difficult and penetrating to the inmost recesses of every nook and corner of every house and store.

The Seminary building stood at the end of a short street extending east from Main Street. Only two residences were on the south side of this street which ended just beyond the Seminary building in a rail fence through which a stile gave access to the only residences which at that time could be found in the region beyond. These were the residences of Dr. D. S. Baker and Mr. H. P. Isaacs. The street had not yet been named in honor of Mr. J. F. Boyer who occupied one of the two houses on its south side, the other being occupied by Mr. E. F. Baker. The north side of the street was unoccupied and few residences had been built north of it. The Seminary building was in the same condition as when first opened for use in 1866, a two-story wooden school house located on two acres of land.

Immediately after President Anderson's arrival, he and several members of his family began teaching in the old Seminary building and, during the winter of 1882-83, the first college classes were

held, taught by President Anderson and his son, Louis Francis Anderson, on the second floor, while the first floor was used for students of the Academy. Prof. Louis, as he was familiarly called, slept in the little room upstairs.

The following announcement was published in the *Walla Walla Union* in August, 1882:

Friends and Trustees think the time has now come to add college work, thus providing for both sexes an institution of higher learning, which from its central position will supply, in great measure, the growing demand for first class educational facilities in Eastern Oregon and Washington. Whitman College and Seminary will not be governed by any State or church authority whatever, but will be under the general control of a Board of Trustees who elect their own successors. It will aim to be without sectarianism, or fanaticism, distinctly Christian, inculcating complete loyalty to God and highest worthiness in man. In government it will be parental and fraternal, insisting on a high standard of character, no less than upon a broad and thorough scholarship.

The institution opened for work in the Seminary building on September 4, Marcus Whitman's birthday, with a faculty of three and an enrollment on the opening day of sixty students. A freshman class of two members, Christopher Columbus Gose and George Page Anderson, marked the beginning of work of collegiate grade. The cost of tuition for a term of ten weeks was \$12.50 for college studies and \$10 for seminary or preparatory studies. French and German were extras. There were two college courses, the Classical and the Scientific, and two preparatory courses, the Classical and English-Latin.

On December 18, 1882, President Anderson presented to the Trustees his first official report, which gives a detailed and vivid account of the progress and needs of the institution.

Gentlemen:—On September 4, 1882, a Faculty of three members began work in the repaired and refurnished building with sixty students, after rejecting all applicants not able to read in the fifth reader and take corresponding studies. Rejected candidates were recommended to a school established for the purpose by Mrs. N. F. Cobleigh, in Ward's School house on Birch Street.

The sixty students were of all grades, from Geography, to Zoology, from fifth reader to rhetoric and Virgil, and from fractions in arithmetic to analytical trigonometry. Great difficulty was encountered in securing a good classification, and much thought and labor were expended in the endeavor to inspire the greater number of the students to think for themselves in all their studies. Yet the work prospered until by the end of the first term there were seventy-six pupils. The second term opened with ninety-one, all applicants beyond that number being rejected for lack of room, even then leaving nineteen students without seats or desks ex-

cept those vacant when other students were reciting. The tuition fees of the first term paid all expenses. The same will be true of the second term, although additional expense has been incurred.

At the present time, not counting the twenty-five primaries in Mrs. Cobleigh's school, the number of students in Whitman College and Seminary is ninety-one, classified as follows: Analytical geometry, 4; geometry, 4; algebra, 26 in two classes; arithmetic, 72 in three classes; book-keeping, 26 in two classes; Virgil, 3; Latin grammar and reader, 48 in three classes; Greek grammar and reader, 2; English grammar, 19; fifth reader, 12; spelling, 18; penmanship, 30; zoology, 4; geography, 21; general history, 22; U. S. history, 19; German, 5.

As another means of culture the College has already two literary societies—the "Philomathean," organized by the young men, and the "Whittier," consisting of young ladies. These societies hold meetings weekly when debates, essays, readings, etc., are the regular exercises.

The Faculty, sufficient to teach a larger number of students, if there were more school rooms, now consists of the following: A. J. Anderson, A.M., Ph.D., President and Professor of philosophy, history and mathematics; Mrs. Louisa P. Anderson, M.S., Professor of botany and zoology; Louis F. Anderson, A.B., Professor of Latin and Greek; T. H. Frucht, Professor of German language and chemistry; G. P. Anderson, Tutor of mathematics; Miss Emily J. Bauer, Teacher of French; William Geddes, Professor of music; and Mrs. N. F. Cobleigh, Principal of Birch Street Primary.

Our work is not so effective as if students and teachers had access to apparatus, natural history cabinet and works of reference in history, mental and physical sciences and modern and ancient literature. The library now consists of fourteen bound volumes and fifteen pamphlets, and all of these except one book—Webster's Unabridged Dictionary—have been donated during the past ten weeks—the Rev. Myron Eells, of Puget Sound, giving ten of the bound volumes and all of the pamphlets. Would that every friend of the institution would follow his example, so far at least as to send one good book or one dollar to the library of Whitman College. Four newspapers—the *New York Witness*, *Sabbath Reading*, *Poetical Gems*, and the *Washington Independent* are sent gratis to the College Reading Room. Eight outline maps and three topical charts—the charts lately donated by A. L. Bancroft & Co., of San Francisco, constitute our total supply of apparatus. Our entire cabinet in natural history consists of but half a dozen specimens contributed by students since the opening in September. Although in the respects just mentioned, the Faculty labor under great disadvantages, I have not felt at liberty to call upon you in these important but secondary matters when a need of chief and first importance holds us in check at every turn. I refer to lack of buildings. The present structure is very much cramped and crowded for the kind and amount of teaching now done within its walls, with the ninety-one students, eight of whom will still be without seats and desks after the eleven desks expected from Portland shall have arrived. Were the building ample, there would be no difficulty in drawing to the institu-

tion 150 students even this winter and 200 or 300 by another year. The true way to secure students is to be prepared for them.

He followed this description of the needs of the institution with suggestions for an enlarged campus and additional buildings which deeply impressed the Trustees.

Were I permitted to name the amount of money to be put into buildings for Whitman College, I would name no small amount, no paltry sum, else another year a like amount would be demanded. In less than twelve months, our Territory will be connected with the railroad system of the United States, immigration will pour in upon us, and that institution of learning which is, in all respects, the best equipped, will be the leading one in our Inland Empire. Why shall not such institution be situated in Walla Walla, rather than in some newer city or village of Eastern Oregon or Washington? A college or university, with ample grounds, sufficient and commodious buildings, even with moderate endowment, well administered, ought to increase the population of any village or city from 2,000 to 3,000. Oberlin College alone built up a place of 3,500. Knox College had its beginning on an open prairie and has drawn around it a city of 10,000 inhabitants. But after all the great argument for a strong college is not dollars and cents and increase of population and rise in value of corner lots, but the good it will do even now and for succeeding generations down through the coming centuries, as an intellectual center of the highest Christian culture.

Add twenty or twenty-five acres to your present beautiful grounds, or secure thirty acres outside of the city limits, erect economically a brick college building according to the best obtainable model, at a cost of \$35,000. Erect an additional building, at a cost of \$15,000 for a Ladies' Hall, in which young ladies from outside the city can find a home, with music and art rooms and where they can learn not only to adorn and embellish the home, but also, somewhat after the Mount Holyoke plan, learn to do and to esteem honorable the common household duties too often wrongly delegated to the mother or servants. But these buildings would cost \$50,000! Yes perhaps \$5,000 at the beginning for library, apparatus and cabinet. Can \$50,000 be put to a better use in the oldest, largest and wealthiest city between the Cascade Range and the Rocky Mountains? Let the moral and intellectual status of the future citizens of Walla Walla and surrounding country answer this question.

Follow these suggestions respectfully submitted, and the American College and Education Society, now about to adopt Whitman College in its poverty, will feel all the more encouraged to exert itself to the utmost to secure us aid and endowment in the older and richer East.

If \$50,000 cannot at once be obtained, let us not plan buildings on a different or diminished scale, but erect a part, or wing, for which sufficient money can be secured, waiting a more opportune time to add other portions of the originally planned building or buildings.

A committee was appointed to carry to completion these recommendations. It consisted of A. J. Anderson, J. F. Boyer, H. E. Johnson, N. G. Blalock, and G. W. Somerindyke. They were supported by warm public approval, and before the end of the year the campus had been enlarged by the gift of additional land and a public subscription of \$15,000 for the erection of a suitable building had been secured by Messrs. R. R. Rees, William Kirkman, and B. F. Stone.

At the meeting of the Board of Trustees on December 18, 1882, the legal steps had been taken which were required for the institution to be adopted by the American College and Education Society. The application was not immediately granted. President Anderson says:

We needed a freshman class before the College could be placed upon the list of the American College and Education Society, so that we might secure funds and all the needs of a young college so far away in the Pacific Northwest. But before the first half-year was ended four students were found sufficiently advanced in studies of the usual freshman class to give us the warrant, at least, for asking that Whitman College might be placed upon the list of the American College and Education Society. The answer was long in coming, and when it came was not so comforting as we expected. We wrote to Dr. Atkinson to assist us in the matter, but no answer came from him. Afterward we wrote again to Secretary Tarbox, but still no encouragement came as to when Whitman College could be taken on the list. Seven letters passed each way, the Society wishing to know the various facts about the new College, and asking a full explanation about the work of the freshman class, and then came the answer that Whitman College was acceptable to the College Society and that it would be placed upon their list at the annual meeting in April, 1883.

On May 29, the directors of the College Society sent a contribution of \$2,000, and "cordially voted that Whitman College might have the northern portion of the Eastern field, embracing Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, on which to canvass for funds, beginning September 1st, 1883, and continuing one year." "This canvass," says Secretary Tarbox in writing to President Anderson, "you yourself might conduct, if you can leave the College; if not, some man wise and efficient should be selected. If Dr. Atkinson could come on that errand, he would do well. He is well known here, and his name is in honor. We shall rather welcome a new College with a new name." But Dr. Atkinson could not undertake the task and Rev. Cushing Eells was at last reluctantly persuaded to make the effort. In September he went East on this, the hardest task of his life, to raise an endow-

ment fund for the College. He secured \$12,000 and made many friends whose interest in the college lasted for many years.

But before these steps, measures had been taken to secure a new charter from the Territorial legislature, changing the name of the institution to Whitman College and granting it exemption from taxation. In this effort President Anderson took a quiet but influential part. To quote:

After the change of the name from Whitman Seminary to Whitman College, it seemed necessary to amend the charter obtained by Cushing Eells at the session of the Territorial legislature of 1859-60, so that its chartered rights, immunities and privileges should be on a par with other colleges in the United States. The upper house of the legislature passed the amended charter unanimously when the measure was first introduced, under the inspiration of its president, Hon. Sewall Truax; but in the lower house the proposed charter met with opposition on religious grounds. From Walla Walla we took note of every movement in the legislature closely, and by our acquaintance with some members in the lower house, to whom we wrote letters, the bill was finally carried by a vote of 13-10, thus securing the necessary amended charter.

The importance of the new charter was very great. It gave dignity to the institution, gave special powers to the faculty, and secured the valuable privilege of immunity from taxation, materially lightening the financial burden of the College.

The development of the new institution was made possible by the co-operation and generosity of a little group of Walla Walla men who pledged their own support for the movement and secured the support of others. A preliminary step was the securing of additional grounds for the institution. Dr. D. S. Baker, whose home was adjacent to the side of Whitman Seminary, had originally given two acres in 1866 for a campus. He now gave four and one-half acres additional on the farther side of the little creek which bounded the Seminary grounds with the stipulation that the land should be used for educational purposes. It was on this new piece of property on the east side of the creek from the Seminary building and considerably back of the front line of the latter that a new building was erected in the summer and fall of 1883 for Whitman College. This structure was regarded in those days as large, handsome, and costly. It was about sixty feet square, two stories in height, with a cupola on its north front where the main entrance was sheltered by a small porch. The cost of the building was \$16,000, raised by public subscriptions by citizens of Walla Walla and, at the time of its construction, it was said to be the largest and finest building for educational purposes between the Cascades and the Rocky Mountains.

Entering the College grounds from the now extended Boyer Avenue, one passed through a stile and then by a plank bridge over the little stream which flowed in a half circle around the new building. The path led in a straight line to the front entrance, the building facing north and south. Four steps led up to the floor of the porch which protected the front doorway. From this one stepped up to the main floor of the building into a shallow and narrow vestibule with massive double doors on the outside, closed at night but open during the day, and on the inside, double doors which gave immediate access to the main hall. The visitor who stepped into the building through this vestibule found himself in a wide, high-ceilinged hall running the entire depth of the building where similar doors and entrance might be found. On the right of the hall a broad staircase rose to the floor above, broken by a landing half way up but extending in a straight line to the rear of the upper hallway. To one's left on the main floor was the boys' cloak room and on the right the girls' cloak room, very small rooms provided with hooks and a shelf or two.

The first door on the right beyond the girls' cloak room was a large, square, high-ceilinged recitation room used by President Anderson for his classes in mathematics. This room like all the other recitation rooms, was twenty-two by twenty-eight feet, and provided with ample blackboards made of smooth fir painted with a black paint which hardened enough to receive chalk marks well. The room south of this, reached by a door at the right of the rear hall under the staircase, was likewise a large, square, high-ceilinged room furnished in a similar manner with blackboards, school desks, and seats. This room was later used by Miss Abbie E. Cushman, who taught English and history for many years and contributed in no small degree to the success of the institution and its reputation for the excellence of its instruction. Under the stairway a door led down into the unfloored basement where stove wood was stored to protect it from the weather and from marauders. All the rooms were heated by iron stoves, and carrying wood to the wood boxes in the several rooms was a part of the daily duties of the boys who earned their way through college by doing the janitor work.

Opposite Miss Cushman's room at the southeast corner of the building was a third recitation room, the counterpart of the others, well lighted by large, high windows. This room was used for miscellaneous classes, geography, commercial arithmetic, bookkeeping and the like. It was never identified with the name of any one teacher as were the other rooms. Adjoining this room towards the front of the building was the room which was occupied for many years by Professor Louis F. Anderson, who taught Greek

Latin, and such other studies as fell to his lot in the distribution of the studies of a curriculum which expanded more rapidly than the teaching force. This room adjoined the boys' cloak room and was the first recitation room to the left of the visitor entering the building.

There was no running water in the building nor any toilet facilities. At the time of its construction no water supply had yet been provided for the town but people obtained water from the several small streams which ran through the town, or made use of pumps. Not until several years had passed was water introduced into any of the early college buildings and then only into the ground floor of Ladies' Hall and the Science Building constructed in 1889.

Ascending the broad and rather easy flight of stairs which led to the floor above, one found on his left at the head of the stairs a double door leading into a large assembly room or chapel, extending along the entire east side of the building. At its far end another set of double doors opened on to the hall. In the middle of the north wall was a door leading into a small bedroom, which afterwards was used by the janitors. In the chapel daily religious exercises were held each morning, conducted by President Anderson himself. He and the faculty sat upon a long platform on the west side and the entire student body occupied benches arranged in parallel rows on either side of the room. A main aisle separated the seats, the girls sitting on one side of the room and the boys on the other, arranged in order of seniority, the higher classes in the rear. Before long a piano was secured to provide accompaniment for the singing and hymn books were obtained from some quarter which cannot now be discovered.

From the head of the stairs one turned to the right and found himself in a large, well-lighted, high-ceilinged recitation room immediately over that of Miss Cushman. Here, later, Professor W. D. Lyman taught for many years and here, too, the school library was established and long maintained. Farther down the hall, and immediately over President Anderson's recitation room, was a similar room which was used for scientific purposes. Here the laboratories, so-called, were established. It would be more truthful to say that here scientific instruction was given by textbook and talk, and such demonstration of physical forces as could be made with only the simplest and most familiar apparatus. This room was used successively by Mrs. Anderson, Professor Metcalf and Professor Shaw.

At the front end of the hall, immediately over the entrance was a long, narrow, well-lighted room, which for many years was

used by Professor Louis as his bedroom and study. A ladder just outside his door led up to the tower in which hung the bell which was given the College in 1883 by Rev. Cushing Eells. The rope by which the bell was rung extended down through a hole in the trap door above and could be pulled by one who stood just outside Professor Louis' door.

The playgrounds extended around the new building back to Mill Creek along which a fence of posts had been built by Dr. Baker. At first the grounds were rough with rye grass and sage brush, but no long time had passed before the ground behind the building had been cleared and an excellent field for baseball had been prepared. Originally baseball had been played in the pasture across the road between the College and Dr. Baker's residence, but in the year after the coming of Dr. Anderson, athletic sports were transferred to the field south of the College building which thenceforth became the scene of many eager athletic battles.

The work of the newly organized institution was necessarily determined by educational conditions in the Pacific Northwest. The high school movement had not begun and not one high school was in evidence in Washington Territory in 1882, and but one in Oregon, that at Portland. Between the Cascades and the Rocky Mountains there was no secondary school of any kind. There were only a few private schools for girls, mostly Catholic or Episcopalian, which carried their students beyond the grades. Public schools were in operation in the larger towns, but boys who wished an education beyond that which the grade schools offered must go outside of the Inland Empire and enter the preparatory department of some college or university remote from home before beginning their college course. Every institution of higher learning was forced by this condition of affairs to maintain a preparatory department, and in most cases this continued for many years to be the larger and more flourishing part of the institution. Although the territorial university at Seattle began work in 1861, its first college class did not graduate until 1882 under the Presidency of Dr. A. J. Anderson. The reorganization of Whitman Seminary under its new charter as Whitman College did not, therefore, mean the abandonment of preparatory, that is to say, secondary, school work, but rather, the addition of college classes leading to a degree. For the next twenty-five years the preparatory department was larger and stronger than the college department but, while the former dwindled, the latter steadily grew.

The scanty resources of the institution put the burden of financial responsibility upon Dr. Anderson's shoulders and made it

necessary for him to employ the members of his own family as his teaching staff. Other teachers were added from time to time, at first on a percentage basis of receipts from tuition without any guarantee of salary and later with small guaranteed salaries proportionate to the expected revenue.

When the second year began, a Normal and a Business Course of two years' each were added to the curriculum of the Seminary, and later in the College a Literary course was established which occupied middle ground between the Classical and Scientific courses. The popularity of the institution steadily increased with its reputation for doing thorough scholarly work.

During the first two or three years, the attendance was naturally drawn mainly from the town and the immediate vicinity, but as the reputation of the College grew, and the quality of instruction which it gave became appreciated, an increasing number of students from a distance began to attend it. The record of attendance during the first ten years is as follows: In the first year 119 students were enrolled, of whom all came from Walla Walla except 15 from the following places, Dixie, Columbus, Lewiston, Milton, Forest Grove, Colfax, Alpowa, Dayton, Wallula, and Pomeroy. In the second year 1883-84, the total attendance was 124 with 49 out-of-town students. In 1884-85 the attendance climbed to 162 with 63 out-of-town students. In 1885-86 the attendance went still higher to 179 with 108 out-of-town students. In 1886-87 the attendance was 210 and the out-of-town students were 101. In 1887-88 the attendance was 190 with 86 out-of-town students. In 1888-89 the attendance was 198 with 77 out-of-town students. In 1889-90 the attendance dropped to 178 with 79 out-of-town students. In 1890-91, the last year of President Anderson's administration, the attendance was 180 with 87 students from out of town. In making up these figures it is difficult to determine accurately whether a student should be listed as a resident or a non-resident student since many came in from the surrounding country with no record to show whether they lived in town or at home.

The problem of taking proper care of these out-of-town students steadily grew in importance. At first they could be housed in the town where some families were willing to open their homes and provide both board and lodging for them, but this provision was uncertain and unsatisfactory. The College could not develop its own life properly and insure a wise and effective supervision of its students unless it could provide adequately for their lives outside of school work.

The first step in the direction of providing accommodations

for out-of-towns students was by making over the old Seminary building into a girls' dormitory. In 1885 Mrs. Elvira Cobleigh, wife of Rev. N. F. Cobleigh, Superintendent of Congregational Home Missions for Washington Territory, undertook to go to New England and raise funds for Whitman College. From her friends and acquaintances, and particularly from those in and around Hartford, Connecticut, she secured gifts of approximately \$8,000 with which, on her return, the old Seminary building was transformed into a commodious dormitory for college and academy girls. The original building was moved back, and on its site a large addition was built at right angles to it, the original building becoming an L for the new structure. In the dormitory thus constructed, according to plans furnished by Mrs. Anderson, the President's wife, parlors, dining rooms, kitchen and rooms for thirty girls were provided. Mrs. Cobleigh became the matron and house-keeper, providing board for the girls. Some members of the faculty also boarded at the Ladies Hall, as it was called, and young men students were also allowed to take their meals there although they were not encouraged to linger about the building before or after meals.

The next step was to provide accommodation for out-of-town boys. In 1888 a small two-story building was erected and was used for the science laboratories and museum. It contained a recitation room and additional space sufficient for very simple scientific apparatus. The entrance to the ground floor was by a door in the middle of the north side to which two steps led up. On the south end of the building an open staircase led up to the second floor. A narrow hall ran through the middle of the building and on either side of it three rooms provided accommodation for students. These six rooms were the only provision which could be made for out-of-town boys for many years. They were plain, square rooms, heated by wood stoves and with no toilet facilities of any kind. Water was obtained from a pump at the rear of the building, pitchers and wash basins being a part of the necessary furniture, all of which was provided by the students themselves. The plainest sort of furniture and the most economical kind of living conditions were found in this building, known variously as Science Hall or Boys Hall, Gentleman's Hall or Association Hall. For twenty years it served its purpose and enabled the College to provide some sort of accommodation, however bare and unattractive, for twelve of the earnest and hard-working boys who were drawn to Whitman College.

There were few student organizations and only rarely social events that would take the attention of students from their work.

There was rigid adherence to study periods both during the day and in the evening. In general, each student was supposed to carry three subjects, with recitations in each five times a week with ample opportunity for preparation.

After the first two years the faculty reached the number of ten, while the maximum was twelve. The maximum registration during President Anderson's administration shows a total of 242 in all departments, including music and art students, but of these forty-four should be deducted as duplicates, leaving 198 individual students. The tuition was increased to \$39 for the earlier years of the Academy and \$48 for the last year in the Academy and the College, three terms constituting the academic year. A department of music brought a large number of local students to the College, and an art department offered excellent instructors. These two departments were duly appreciated by the people of the city.

The *Walla Walla Watchman* said on November 21, 1884,

Transient visitors to this place are startled at the boldness of the attempt to found in this new country a model of the institution of higher learning in the states. When Mr. Billings was here last summer he was so agreeably surprised that he gave his unsolicited check for \$500 to help along and encourage the brave hearts that were manifesting their love for the cause of education in this land. Rev. Joseph Cook became so thoroughly interested in the outward evidences of the earnestness of those engaged in building up Whitman College that he promised the weight of his influence to secure for it material assistance on his return to the east. When outside parties take so great an interest in the incipient growth of an institution of higher learning for the people of this region, what must be the feelings of those living here and in a position to derive the immediate advantages therefrom for themselves and their posterity forever.

It is an institution already upon the course of assured success; it is one the people of this region should regard with pride and with warm feeling of material and moral support; and it is one that every man who loves his own children and the spread of intelligence in this region should foster and encourage, as philanthropic men and women far away are now doing in our behalf.

The Mr. Billings referred to was Frederick Billings, President of the Northern Pacific Railway who had met Cushing Eells when the latter visited the East in 1883-84, and was so impressed by him and by his own visit to Walla Walla referred to above, that he contributed \$1000 to the College annually for the remainder of his life.

The Treasurer of the College, during the entire administration of President Anderson and of his successor, was John F. Boyer, brother-in-law of Dr. D. S. Baker, and Vice-President of the

Baker-Boyer Bank. On June 1, 1887, he presented the following report to the Trustees:

Value of buildings and grounds.....	\$35,000.00
Invested funds.....	9,313.15
Income on invested funds.....	990.30
Income from tuition.....	5,700.00
Total expenses.....	8,294.00
Present debt.....	6,066.13
Eastern donations.....	2,087.75
Western donations.....	3,500.00

J. F. BOYER, *Treasurer*

The college has a general endowment of \$6,400; and in addition a Washburn Library Fund of \$1,525; Orange Sage Scholarship Fund of \$1,000 for young men given by Mr. Sage and his sister of Ware, Massachusetts, and a Northrup Scholarship Fund of \$1,000 for young women. The last named fund was raised in small amounts by Mrs. E. C. Northrup of Hartford, Connecticut, in the eightieth year of her age.

When his administration had drawn to a close, due to breaking health under his heavy burden and the advance of years, President Anderson summed up the financial history as follows:

During the nine years that I was president of Whitman College the amount of money that came to the school, so far as I knew, was twenty-one thousand, five hundred dollars, raised by a committee of Walla Walla men; thirty-three thousand dollars donated by the benevolent givers of the New England and other states, and nearly forty-three thousand dollars received for tuition.

It is not strange that Dr. Anderson's health had begun to break, for during his whole administration he carried a full professorial schedule, which entailed his teaching from twenty to twenty-five hours a week, in addition to which he discharged the duties incumbent on the President of the college, besides collecting all the tuitions, making all disbursements, and negotiating all general purchases. Yet, despite this incredible activity the universal testimony of those who came under his teaching is that he was peculiarly gifted as a "teacher, having rare powers of penetration, skill in imparting knowledge, wisdom in the discernment of character, gentleness in method, and a force that stimulated in students alertness, comprehension, and retention." Concerning his skill as a teacher a member of his first graduating class, C. C. Gose, '86, who became a brilliant and successful lawyer, says:

He had an ideal temperament, happy, earnest, determined. He possessed in the highest degree the qualities of persistence and of justice. He knew how to lead a student body without making it feel any harshness of his

judgment; he controlled without seeming to control; he taught without the student being conscious of the fact that he was being taught; he aroused ambition in those who had never known any thought of ambition; he turned into serious effort the overflowing spirits which had been wasted in idleness and in the destruction of school discipline.

His methods of teaching were natural, original and strangely effective. He had the power of calling out in a student all of the mental strength which he possessed and to arouse a feeling of interest and enthusiasm in the subject matter. His discussion before a class became intensely interesting and instructive. His mental habits were such as to make him in the class room, forceful, but he rarely became combative. He rather sought to call out in the student independent lines of thought and to make of him a companion and a friend.

A member of the next year's class, Mary Gilliam, '87, long an active teacher and Superintendent of Schools for Walla Walla County, says of him:

Dr. Anderson was one of the rarest souls who has crossed my path of life. As an instructor his influence was always to lead one to think and to think deeply—to think all around the subject, as he often expressed it. His ability to lead the slow mind to comprehend what had been seemingly beyond him was recognized no less than his ability to awaken the keen mind to new lines of thought. Dr. Anderson always showed the highest appreciation for honest endeavor in every phase of activity. His estimate of men and affairs was reliable as well as broad and prophetic. He recognized with consideration the person of one talent and the person of ten talents.

W. T. Dovell, '88, who later became the leader of the Washington Bar, says:

When Dr. Anderson, coming to Walla Walla in 1882, set himself to the establishment of an institution of higher learning he undertook a task of greater magnitude than the younger members of this generation may readily understand. He had not only to open an institution which would afford opportunity but he must convince the community of its utility. The pioneers of Eastern Washington were generally of such character and training that they did not readily appreciate the benefit of higher education. He must therefore educate the community to the propriety of his undertaking. This he could not have done had he not possessed the qualities of an enthusiast as well as a teacher, or had he been lacking in executive ability. He was enthusiastic in the cause of Christian education; he was buoyant and personally magnetic, and spoke with rare fluency and grace. He was thus able when he essayed his organization to awaken a spirit in the community which soon filled the rooms of his little institution. With an equal zeal and optimism he met and buffeted the difficulties which beset the fiscal conduct of the college. These difficulties will be better comprehended if one understands the comparative poverty of the

community at that time and the meagreness of the population from which such an institution might draw.

He would have been a great teacher in any line in which he had chosen to specialize. In a higher degree than any man I ever knew he possessed the faculty of carrying into the mind of another the clarified conception of an idea.

But the most marked as well as the most endearing quality of Dr. Anderson was his intimacy with his students. To him there was no aggregation—each one was an individual in whom he was bound to find merit of some character. If one betrayed stupidity in one line that was accepted evidence of special capacity in another. If one failed in some moral or mental requirement, the Doctor had formulated an excuse before one was tendered. No boy or girl who sat at his feet ever relaxed endeavor who did not do it in spite of his encouragement.

When the administration of President Anderson, covering nine long years of incessant and varied activity, is thoughtfully reviewed it is evident that:

1. He won the confidence of the community, already favorably disposed towards him by the prestige he had acquired as President of the Territorial University, by reason of his energy, ability and personality. He had come to stay, bringing his family with him, uniting with the Congregational Church and identifying himself with the business and social interests of the community. His activity in the work of the institution, his manifest administrative ability and the impression which he speedily made upon his students, and through them upon the town, soon gave him a position of recognized eminence and power. He won this influence by merit openly and not by political or indirect methods.

2. He transformed an unorganized district school without a definite course of study or educational objective into a well organized and coherent institution with a comprehensive and well-articulated curriculum and with the definite aim of becoming a college of high rank.

3. He developed this college as rapidly as possible on the foundation of the existing preparatory department, inaugurating a freshman class of four students in the first year of his administration and adding a year of college work each year thereafter until in 1886 the first college class of four students was graduated at the end of a four year course.

4. He did not discard the Seminary or abandon a preparatory department for that would have been impossible in those early days of educational development. The period of high schools had not yet arrived and there were few and widely scattered academies under private control from which college students could be secured. It was necessary that Whitman College should prepare its

own college students and it continued to do this for twenty-five years until the growth of high schools throughout the Pacific Northwest made it possible to find adequately prepared college students. But he organized the preparatory department carefully, establishing entrance requirements which excluded students below the fifth grade.

5. The college which he developed speedily took rank as an efficient institution not only because of the thoroughness of its curriculum but because of the quality of its teaching staff. The three Anderson's constituted the entire faculty in the first year of Dr. Anderson's administration except for the aid of a few local teachers engaged on a percentage basis. The influence of Mrs. Anderson during the years in which she taught, before her failing health compelled her to retire, was strongly felt in the life of the institution. She was a woman of marked intellectual ability and personal charm. Their son, "Prof. Louie," taught Latin, Greek and mathematics and such other subjects as might be required, acting as librarian and secretary of the faculty and throwing a boundless energy into the life of the school. He continued in the service of the College with but a brief interruption, through three administrations, celebrating his 50th anniversary as a member of the faculty in 1932, an inspiring teacher of the Greek language and literature.

The quality of the other members of the faculty which Dr. Anderson gathered about him was remarkable, especially in view of the remoteness of the institution from educational centers and the primitiveness of life there. They can best be judged by their subsequent careers; John L. Rand, a graduate of Dartmouth College, later became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Oregon; Wilmot V. Metcalf, a graduate of Oberlin, who taught the natural sciences for two years after Mrs. Anderson's retirement, served later with distinction as professor of chemistry at Carleton College. Professor George C. Shaw, who succeeded Professor Metcalf in the teaching of the sciences and remained for two years, had a distinguished career in the government service; Miss Abbey E. Cushman, a graduate of Oberlin College, brought a charming personality and a remarkable gift of teaching to the life of the institution, impressing several generations of college students by her rare gifts, retiring on her marriage, to an honored private life; Professor Benjamin S. Winchester, a graduate of Williams College, taught the natural sciences with ability and success until he decided to study for the ministry, after which he attained distinction in the field of religious education. Professor W. D. Lyman, a graduate of Williams College, joined the

faculty in 1888 as professor of English literature and history, and, with the interruption of a single year, continued in the service of the institution as professor of history until his death in 1920. He was a versatile, talented and popular teacher. The other members of the faculty were carefully selected for the thoroughness of their preparation and for their teaching ability. They were loyal to the ideals of the institution and to the man who was their leader, for at all times President Anderson was the leader of the faculty, expecting his plans to be carried out faithfully and efficiently.

6. The institution was characterized by a unity of educational effort throughout the entire nine years of President Anderson's administration. This was due in large measure to the presence of the Anderson family on the faculty and their ability to work harmoniously with the new members of the faculty with no serious differences of opinion. Mutual understanding and earnest endeavor to promote the best life of the institution characterized the teaching staff and helped to lift the institution to a high level of achievement.

7. The internal life of the institution was inspired by high ideals of scholarship and of character. The students were expected to work hard and regular study hours were imposed. Literary societies were instituted during the first year of the administration both for young men and young women and were a characteristic feature until long after they were superseded by national Greek letter fraternities. The religious life of the students was also carefully considered and efforts were made to develop their Christian character. The religious tone of the institution changed markedly for the better during Dr. Anderson's administration and Christian activities became a notable feature of student life. Student self government had not yet been developed in any American college and a paternal régime was in effect. Regulations were made by the faculty and obeyed with as good grace as possible by the students, but the wisdom and gentleness of President Anderson prevented any disaffection on the part of students who might not like the regulations, and the life of the institution went on smoothly. Athletics were encouraged, particularly baseball, the open field behind the new college building being ample for all such activities. But athletics were the outgrowth of student initiative rather than of faculty direction although members of the Anderson family heartily participated.

8. The work of the institution was not confined to the channel of college work and preparation therefor. President Anderson recognized that the community was not yet ready for such limitations and that many students who did not have the ambition for

a college course might be prepared for other occupations than those to which a college course was supposed to lead. He, therefore, early established business and normal courses beyond the academy level but not leading to a degree. Music was also added, a conservatory of music under the direction of Harlan J. Cozine being organized in 1887 which contributed much to the cultural and artistic life of the institution. The first men's glee club was organized by Professor B. S. Winchester in 1889. Work in drawing and painting was offered by means of local teachers.

9. At first the institution was purely local in its appeal, but as the range of its work extended, its reputation spread and it began to draw students from the surrounding country and eventually from the entire northwest. The growth in the expanding appeal of Whitman College to a wider constituency is made clear by the statistics of attendance during President Anderson's administration with the number of out-of-town students in successive years. When his administration drew to its close the college had won a recognized place in the educational life of the Pacific Northwest and drew students from far distant points in Washington, Oregon and Idaho.

10. The financial problems grew more complicated as the institution developed, and the burden upon President Anderson's shoulders became too heavy for him to bear. The death of Mrs. Anderson in 1889 saddened and depressed him so that in the last years of his administration he lost the elasticity of spirit and the abounding vigor which had been characteristic of him earlier. The aid given by the American College and Education Society, though indispensable to the life of the College, was precarious and was eventually made contingent upon the securing of an equal amount of aid from local givers. Conditions in the rapidly developing, but still pioneer, territory, made the securing of such gifts difficult, and no effective plan was devised to secure such gifts. Dr. D. S. Baker, Mr. William Kirkman, and Mr. J. F. Boyer frequently contributed out of their own pockets, but no great benefactor arose to relieve the College of its poverty by supplying an adequate endowment. The close of President Anderson's administration was under a cloud of increasing indebtedness, which, though it seems small today, darkened the outlook of the institution. It is evident that a great administrator and teacher had labored heroically for the little college, and had made an indelible impression upon it. The institution must be ever grateful for his leadership and inspiration. If Cushing Eells is remembered as its founder, A. J. Anderson must ever be associated with him as its first great builder.

The esteem in which the College was generally held was indicated in a formal report submitted in June, 1889, to the State Association of Congregational Churches meeting at Ellensburg.

Your committee appointed to visit Whitman College would respectfully report that a majority of the Committee have been obedient to their mission; that they have been greatly impressed with the efficiency and importance of the institution. We feel assured it is a thoroughly Christian College; but it is exceedingly well conducted under the long, experienced management of Pres. Anderson and the associated faculty. Its fruits, as already seen, are an honor to the founder, the trustees in its control, the faculty, and its supporters. We feel that it should be heartily supported and patronized by our churches, and that strenuous efforts should be made to place it on a more solid financial foundation.

The Commencement of 1891 was happy and successful, with a graduating class of five students from the College and one from the Normal Department. The public exercises brought to its close a year characterized by a large, though not the largest, attendance and by general good feeling. But it was realized that President Anderson's strength was failing and therefore no great surprise was felt when, shortly after Commencement on July 4, he presented his resignation to the Trustees in the following letter.

To the Executive Committee of Whitman College

GENTLEMEN:

I feel almost completely worn out by the labors, cares, anxieties, and even trials in your service as president of Whitman College for the past nine years. I therefore tender you my resignation of the position as president, professor and chairman of the executive committee. In doing so I thank you and all the members of the board of trustees, one and all, for your confidence in me and for your uniform kindness and your courteous treatment during the entire nine years. My best wishes remain with you in your difficult task of making Whitman College what it ought to be and what it must be, a powerful, intellectual, moral and Christian force in this new empire.

I do not resign the office of trustee of the college, believing that I may be useful in that capacity as long as I live near enough to the institution to attend the meetings of the board and executive committee.

Respectfully submitted,

A. J. ANDERSON

After mature consideration the Trustees felt obliged, regretfully, to accept the resignation and to take steps at once to secure his successor. Thus ended an administration that had laid the permanent foundations of Whitman College and had given it an honored place among American colleges.



CHAPTER VII

TRANSITION

The growth of any successful institution whether educational or industrial is always likely to be attended by criticism. It may be friendly criticism, designed to correct recognized defects or it may be hostile criticism intended to injure or disparage it. But in either case the criticism is an expression of interest and is a tribute to the growing importance of the institution. Towards the close of President Anderson's administration a serious and careful criticism of the College was made by a Committee of Ministers appointed by the Congregational Association of Eastern Washington and Northern Idaho. These ministers, for the most part graduates of New England colleges, were perhaps a little inclined to look with a condescending eye upon a college whose builder was from the Middle West. But they were interested in the institution and realized the need of a strong Christian college for the region. They professed to feel that the Christian character of Whitman College was not sufficiently secure and they felt that it could be made secure in the most effective way only by being made legally Congregational. Perhaps no more striking evidence of the growth of the College in influence and public esteem could be afforded than by the desire of these men that it should become a Congregational college in law as well as in spirit. Their criticism was friendly but searching and their suggestions are still interesting. The Committee consisted of Rev. H. P. James, a graduate of Middlebury College, Vermont, Rev. T. W. Walters, General Missionary of the Congregational Churches of Eastern Washington and Northern Idaho, and Rev. George E. Hooker, a graduate

of Amherst College, Massachusetts. It is not necessary to give their report here because the reply which was made by the Trustees of the College answered its several allegations and suggestions explicitly and with dignity. This reply follows. It is signed by Rev. Myron Ells, son of the founder of the College, H. E. Johnson and J. F. Boyer:

WHITMAN COLLEGE

Walla Walla, Wash.

August 1891

To Revs. Messrs. H. P. James, T. W. Walters and G. E. Hooker. Committee of the Congregational Association of Eastern Washington and Northern Idaho:—

DEAR BRETHREN—

Your report to the Trustees of Whitman College has been read and considered. While there may be some points wherein we may differ from you, yet we desire first to say that we recognize in you a spirit of kindness, and believe that you desire the best interests of Whitman College. We also, in accordance with our own opinion, and also in accordance with the expressed desire of the American College and Education Society, desire the aid and support of the Congregational Churches of this State, and believe that we are willing to do anything that is reasonable so that such friendly relations shall exist between us.

In reply to your communication item by item, we would reply as follows,

As to your *first* item, to legally secure the College to Evangelical Congregationalism, we would say that we are now endeavoring to do, and expect in the future to do so much in this respect that the College Society will be satisfied in regard to the funds which are furnished through that Society, that these shall be secure. The Trustees we believe would be willing to amend the charter so that a majority or more of the Trustees shall always be members of Evangelical Congregational Churches, if it could be safely done, but as legal opinion has been given that this cannot be done without endangering the charter we see no better way to make this provision secure, but by having it in the agreement with the College Society, secured by a bond which amounts to all that we have received or will receive through that Society.

We think however that you are mistaken when you say that the compact existing between the College and the Education Society contains no legal provision for its enforcement. It is an agreement with a bond in it which says that in case of the breaking of any of its conditions, all moneys or other property, which shall hereafter be appropriated and paid or delivered to the said President and Trustees of Whitman College by the said American College and Education Society shall revert and be paid to the said American College and Education Society, and the President and Trustees of Whitman College covenant and agree for themselves and

their successors that they will forthwith well and truly pay, grant, convey, turn over, and transfer, or cause the same to be paid, granted, conveyed, turned over and transferred to the American College and Education Society or the value of any of the same, which cannot be identified and so conveyed, turned over and transferred.

It is a bond which has been approved by sound legal opinion, and is believed to be so binding that the College Society felt sure that they can recover all the property they furnish, or cause to be furnished to any College, which they assist in case any one of the conditions shall be broken.

We are thankful that you have said that an arrangement satisfactory to the Trustees and the College Society from a legal standpoint, will in your opinion be satisfactory to the churches.

In regard to your *third* point, electing the Trustees for a limited period of years and allowing the General Congregational Association of the State to nominate persons to fill vacancies in the Board, we would say, that the Trustees at their meeting in June expressed a willingness to elect Trustees for a limited term and so instructed their committee on a Constitution. Since that time however Judge R. P. Boise of Oregon, who has been on the Board of Trustees of Pacific University for fifteen years and is conversant with a charter similar to ours, has given it as his decided opinion, that without a change in that charter, neither can we resolve to make the terms of all the Trustees limited by an article in our Constitution or even elect one or more of our Trustees in the future for a limited term.

We expect however that in our Constitution will be an article which will request the General Association of the State to nominate three persons for Trustees, one of whom in good faith, we shall expect to elect, to fill the first, fourth, and seventh vacancies which occur, and their successors, provided that such vacancies shall not be that of the President of the Institution or its Treasurer, in which case the next vacancy following we shall request to have filled in like manner.

In regard to your *fourth* item, a Ladies Board, we would say that we have voted to establish such a Board. It is possible that peculiar circumstances may make it unwise for them to act immediately, but with you we believe on general principles that such a Board is wise.

In answer to your *fifth* item, Biblical study one hour each week, we would say that we approve of it.

In answer to the *sixth* item, the adoption of a Constitution, we have appointed a committee to prepare one. We will endeavor to define the duties of the President and the Faculty, still we do not feel sure that we shall fully succeed by law to satisfy all, as we are informed that many older colleges have attempted to do, but have not wholly succeeded.

We have also instructed our Committee on Constitution to place in it an article, which shall state that the institution is distinctively Christian. We however beg leave to say, that while such a statement has not been either in our charter or constitution, yet that it is in our agreement with the College Society, where with its bond it is much more binding, than it

can be in a Constitution. Without this the College Society would never have received us on their list, or given us any aid.

In regard to your *second* item, the retirement of Pres. Anderson—charging him with arbitrariness, unwillingness to take advice, especially from the Faculty, want of religious influence in the College, especially at chapel exercises, cowardly policy in regard to the denominations, and lack of ability to manage the institution—we beg leave to say, that although his resignation has been placed in the hands of the trustees, yet they cannot in justice to him let these charges pass unnoticed.

As a rule a man's ability in all avocations is measured by his success. If this rule be applied to President Anderson, no better proof need be asked than the work he has done in bringing Whitman College from nothing to its present standing. We may with pride, point to the College now, and ask what it was nine years ago, when he took the Presidency.

As to arbitrariness and making it a family affair. When Dr. Anderson nine years ago accepted the Presidency there were no funds, and it was necessary in the main for the school to support itself from tuition. Dr. Anderson was asked by the Trustees to take it, carry it on, employ the teachers, and see that they were paid from what he could get. This income was so uncertain that he found it impossible to obtain the teachers he wanted, and, rather than go without, as a last resort his wife and sons were employed, receiving what pay they could get. Hence here if anyone is to blame the Trustees ought to bear a share of it, in throwing so much power into his hands, and not provide means to carry on the Institution. But that was many years ago. For the last two years, Prof. L. F. Anderson and the President have been the only ones of the Anderson family who have taught in the College. Several years ago the Trustees elected L. F. Anderson as Professor and consequently if anybody is to blame for his being there it is the Trustees and not Dr. Anderson, Prof. Anderson is however so good a teacher, that last year his Alma Mater offered him \$1,200—if he would leave Whitman College and accept a place in the State University, but he decided to remain with us on a less salary. This shows that he is retained on his merits and not because he is the son of the President. And we would say further that when Dr. Anderson assumed nearly all the responsibility of carrying on the College, at the request of the Trustees, it threw much power into his hands, and, previous to the election of several professors a year ago, he and his son Prof. Anderson with Miss Cushman for a time, were in reality the Faculty and it is possible that in the exercise of this authority, he may have unconsciously shown arbitrariness. He is ready to admit that possibly such was the case, and if so the Trustees should certainly come in for a full share of the blame if any.

As to the cowardly policy in regard to denomination, we cannot speak in regard to all that Dr. Anderson may have said privately, but we do know that it was through his influence alone that the clause was put into the agreement with the College Society, which requires a majority of the Trustees to be members of the Congregational Churches: we also know that the catalogues of the Institution for 1882–3, 1885–6, 1886–7, 1887–8,

1888-9, 1889-90, and 1890-1, state this same fact, at the same time also saying what the Trustees believe to be the true ground that the instruction is to be Christian, not sectarian. The resolutions passed by the Congregational Association of Oregon and Washington, endorsing the Institution, were published in the catalogue of 1886-7; the names of the Committee of visitation appointed by the Congregational Association of Washington are published in the catalogues for 1889-90, and 1890-1; Mrs. Cobleigh's work in raising funds is specially mentioned in those of 1884-5 and 1886-7; and Dr. C. Eells' work and that of the American College and Education Society has been held up in the catalogues nearly every year. In 1883 Pres. Anderson published a paper which he had read before the Congregational Association of Oregon and Washington in which he mentioned as many of these facts as had then taken place, and in 1887 he published an article in *The Advance*, in which he speaks of nearly every one of these items and this article he published in the catalogue for 1886-7, and the College Society reprinted the same in a pamphlet entitled "Our Western Colleges." These are Dr. Anderson's printed utterances and are we not right in saying that we believe that in these he has given due credit to the Congregationalists for what they have done for the College.

3d. Want of Christian influences. As to this we cannot answer your charges fully, as we have not investigated them thoroughly, but we do know that four out of five (all of the graduates of the College this year) went forth as Christians, which we believe is as great a proportion as in almost any Christian college in the land.

We beg leave to say that two or three times Dr. Anderson has spoken of resigning, but has yielded to the earnest request of his friends to remain for the good of the College, as they believe its interests would have been jeopardized by his retiring.

Though Whitman College cannot boast a Woolsey or McCosh, yet in our poverty we thank God for sending us so able a Christian and self-denying a man as Dr. Anderson, who has given some of the best years of his life to Whitman at the meager salary of \$1,600.

With the co-operation of the Congregational Churches in our own State and the assistance of our good friends East, we hope to be able to place in the chair a man who will meet the expectations of the most sanguine and exacting.

We trust from the spirit in which your suggestions have been discussed and our readiness to adopt it, it will be manifest to you that we desire the aid of the Congregational churches of this State and earnestly ask your sympathy, aid, prayers, students and general support.

We remain yours in the cause of Christian Education in behalf of the Trustees

Myron Eells H. E. Johnson J. F. Boyer	Committee of Trustees of Whitman College.
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The two suggestions made by Dr. James's committee which are

most interesting at the present day are those which recommend a Ladies' Board and a constitution. Neither of these has been found practicable in the sense that the Committee intended: a constitution accurately defining the duties of the President and several officers, and a Ladies' Board to bring to the support of the College the influence of representative women in the affairs of the College. The former has been found impracticable and the second is still a consummation devoutly to be wished though various attempts to realize it have been made.

But the need for finding a successor to President Anderson diverted attention from the criticism and suggestions made in the report. Many nominations were made to the Trustees, but, of them all, the man who seemed most likely to succeed in the difficult position was the one who was recommended by the Rev. H. P. James of Colfax, endorsed by Rev. R. A. Beard, D.D., of Seattle, Superintendent of the Congregational Home Missionary Society, and warmly commended by many distinguished ministers and educators of the East. So excellent were his credentials that, without further investigation, the Trustees elected him President of Whitman College at a salary of \$1,600, to which they afterward added \$500 for moving expenses. The invitation was telegraphed to the Rev. James Francis Eaton, D.D., principal of Drury Academy, North Adams, Massachusetts, and, on the following day, he telegraphed his acceptance. The second president of Whitman College had been secured.

James Francis Eaton was born in Hamden, New York, October 16, 1850, and was, therefore, now in the forty-second year of his age. He was graduated from Williams College in the class of 1876 with the rank of salutatorian and membership in Phi Beta Kappa. He rowed on the college crew, which at that time took part in a yearly New England regatta, and won a high reputation for his physical vigor, scholarship and moral character. Deciding to enter the ministry he studied for two years in the Yale Divinity School but finished his course at Oberlin where he received the B.D. degree in 1879. Here he was a fellow student of R. A. Beard and H. P. James, as at Williams he had been of Professor W. D. Lyman. He held two brief pastorates, during the first of which, at Madrid, New York, he married Miss Agnes Kent, sister of the distinguished Brooklyn clergyman, the Rev. Robert J. Kent, D.D. After the second pastorate, at Bridport, Vermont, he decided to devote himself thereafter to teaching and took the principalship of the school at Lake Linden, Michigan. Soon he was invited to become principal of the preparatory department of Ripon College at Ripon, Wisconsin, where he served successfully for five years

until he was called to the principalship of Drury Academy at North Adams, Massachusetts. He had been there for five years when the invitation came to him to cross the continent, with his wife and three children, and identify himself with the new state of Washington, established two years earlier. The salary was small and the region remote but the presidency of a college appealed to him and, in a spirit of faith and prayer, he undertook the great adventure.

The College had opened hopefully in the fall with the usual number of students and with the same faculty as the year before except that Professor W. D. Lyman had now returned to it after an absence of a year. The curriculum was the same, and the same methods and organization were continued.

President Eaton and his family did not arrive until about Thanksgiving, when he received an enthusiastic welcome. A public banquet was given in his honor at which it is recorded that Professor Lyman made an exceptionally graceful and felicitous address of welcome. The new administration had begun under bright auspices.

President Eaton was about five feet ten inches high, broad shouldered and athletic, with auburn hair and a long auburn beard which tended to distract attention from his broad forehead and blue eyes set far apart, his well-cut nose and firm mouth. He had a dignity of bearing and a calmness of poise which impressed people even though they thought at first that he was cold and aloof. He was essentially kind at heart and was a wise and oving husband and father. His three children were devoted to him and with them he was a delightful companion and friend, although to the students he seemed, perhaps, wise and just rather than warm-hearted. There was always a friendliness in heart that made him sympathize with student needs and take pleasure in their pleasure.

He at once began his work as teacher and administrator, conducting classes in philosophy for seniors and juniors, and studying how to reorganize the curriculum in order to lift the College nearer to the level of the New England institution with which he was familiar. He did not hesitate to express his dissatisfaction with the courses of study and to refer disparagingly to Western educational standards as compared with those of the East. He particularly found fault with the curriculum because the courses leading to the three degrees were of unequal length and difficulty, that for the A.B. degree requiring four years of work based upon three years of preparatory work, but that for the B.S. and B.L. degrees requiring only three years of college work based on two

years of preparatory work. He determined that this inequality must be rectified at once and all three degrees be made equal. He impressed those who heard him by the earnestness with which he spoke and by the confidence which he manifested in the successful outworking of his plans. His slow and judicial speech, expressing judgments derived from long experience was made the more impressive by his personal appearance and dignity.

It was unfortunate that he was entirely lacking in a sense of humor and was therefore unable to enter imaginatively into the thoughts and feelings of those with whom he spoke. His opinions were delivered ex cathedra with the assumption that they would be received with the same finality with which they were delivered. He did not exchange opinions with other people so much as express his own opinions seriously and weightily, not imagining that there could be any difference of judgment. It was perhaps because of his lack of humor that he took all things seriously. He was wise, thoughtful and judicially minded, but he had no sense of proportion concerning the relative importance of things and all the things in which he took an interest became important to him. A livelier imagination and a more playful humor would have lightened his load and made it easier for him to win acceptance of his innovations. When he laughed it was in response to what was said by others but never as the spontaneous expression of inward mirth or of the humorous appreciation of the difference between things as they seem and things as they really are. But most people listened to him respectfully and accepted without question the judgments of this wise man of the East who had come from the realms of light into the twilight dawn of the far West.

During the year the first gymnasium which Whitman College possessed had been built by the students with aid from the townspeople. It was a long, low, one-story wooden building, situated south of the so-called "Gentlemen's Hall" on the east edge of the campus. The *Union Journal* in January announced that "The Gymnasium under the auspices of the gymnasium association is almost ready."

At Commencement one student was graduated with the B.S. degree, and one with the B.L. degree, certificates also being awarded to one graduate of the Normal Department and one from the Business Department.

The second year of his administration, the academic year 1892-93, saw his new curriculum in operation and a new spirit in the institution. Gifts of money from New England aggregated \$5,887, and the cloud of the approaching financial depression had not yet

descended on the brave little institution. The faculty was larger than it had ever been before, thirteen in number, and it contained new and inspiring personalities. Although the work in the sciences was necessarily dependent rather upon textbooks than upon adequately equipped laboratories, the quality of the work done depended upon the attainment of the teacher. That work in Latin and Greek was more than respectable is shown by the list of subjects in those languages required for the classical course.

Latin subjects—Livy, Horace and Tacitus in Freshman year, Juvenal and Terence in Sophomore year, Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, in Junior year.

Greek—Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon's *Memorabilia* with Prose Composition in Freshman year; Plato, Demosthenes and Euripides or Aeschylus in Sophomore year. Greek and Latin were mainly in the freshman and sophomore years for practical reasons of the curriculum and during the first year of the new administration and part of the second year were taught by Professor L. F. Anderson, who, however, resigned in the spring of 1893. Thereafter Latin was taught by Miss Helen A. Pepoon, a graduate of Oberlin who remained in the service of the College until her retirement in 1921 as professor emeritus, and the Greek by Rev. T. C. Craig, A.B. and B.D. of Harvard, who continued for two years. At the end of the first year Professor Winchester had dropped out, his place as teacher of the sciences being taken by Professor Edwin S. Bishop, also a graduate of Williams College. Another Williams graduate in the same class, Payn Bigelow Parsons, was added as professor of French and German. Miss Anne S. Young was also added to the faculty, a brilliant graduate of Carleton College and a niece of the famous American astronomer, Professor Charles A. Young, of Princeton. She remained for three years, highly admired for her mathematical ability, her teaching skill and her personal character. Professor Bishop and Professor Parsons only remained one year but in that time made a deep impression not only by their ability as teachers, but by the interest which they took in student life, particularly in athletics.

It was in this year that football was introduced on the campus by Professor Bishop, henceforth to be an indispensable part of extracurricular activities. The first field day was held, and this represents the beginning of track work at Whitman. Tennis clubs both for young men and young women were also organized, and what is perhaps the most striking evidence of a growing college spirit was the publication of the *Whitman Collegian* which appeared in January, 1893, and was published once a month in each of the months following until Commencement. It is interesting to

read the pages of this, Whitman's first college paper, and to see that the students could express themselves as clearly and as forcibly in those days as at the present time. The opening editorial says:

The college paper has become so important, so indispensable a factor in college life, that surprise is felt not that there is a new publication, but that a beginning was not made long ago. Our college has long been in need of a voice for its students, but apparently there has been no effort made to supply the want. But let the cause of neglect go unquestioned since the students were not numerous and few remained to complete the course. Now that the college is making decided advance these demands must be met. Many institutions smaller than this have long supported monthly and even weekly specimens of student journalism and there is no reason why Whitman cannot also. With a board of editors representing every class in the college, the *Whitman Collegian* under the auspices of the Atheneum and Alcott Literary societies, will endeavor to voice the sentiments of the whole institution.

The life of the College is clearly mirrored in the issues of this journal, and many interesting items are recorded long since forgotten. A Y.M.C.A. and a Y.W.C.A. were in active operation. The day of prayer for colleges was observed at Whitman as throughout the United States. Visits by John R. Mott, and L. H. Roots representing the Y.M.C.A. were features of these years.

An unmistakable sign of a dawning college spirit which had not before appeared in the student life of the institution was the adoption this year (1893) of college colors. A college yell does not seem to have been thought of or at least not invented. But the new College colors, at once used in banners and in athletic uniforms, helped to bring the students together in a new bond of sympathy and mutual recognition, and made them feel themselves to be a separate and distinct community, superior to all possible rivals. This was particularly useful in distinguishing the students of Whitman College from those of the Walla Walla High School, which had been established in 1889, and from those of the Seventh Day Adventist institution, Walla Walla College, which had begun work in 1891 at College Place three miles away.

The *Collegian* says in February, 1893:

The question of college colors has long been agitating the minds of the students. When the football team ordered suits, they found it necessary to choose at once, and with the concurrence of the Athletic Association, they decided that the college baseball and football teams and their friends should be known by their Blue and Gold. They chose, we think, not without aesthetic taste, as the colors lack neither in harmony nor local signification, considering our Blue Mountains and golden fields. Blue and Gold should immediately be adopted as our college colors.

Blue and gold were therefore adopted as Whitman's colors, but as these were also the colors of the University of California, to avoid confusion it became the custom in the course of time to speak of Whitman's colors as the Maize and Blue, these representing the color of the ripened wheat fields and the deep blue atmospheric effect which gives the surrounding mountains their name.

An astronomical society was organized this year by Miss Young and the first steps were taken in the development of track athletics by the establishment of a field day. Concerning these two activities the *Collegian* says in its April number:

Whitman is manifestly assuming its place as a college and developing the college spirit. The organization of an Astronomical Society and the plans for the inauguration of a Field Day testify to that fact. And this is a move in the right direction. No phases of college life are more important than those which pertain to producing and increasing the college spirit. "All work and no play" is not profitable even for grave seniors, much less so for freshmen or sentimental sophomores; and the work of societies and exercise in collegiate games affords recreation and rest that stimulates each student to more thorough study afterwards. The pride of a student in his school does not rest wholly in the faculty and advantages, but also in its position and surrounding associations. The fact that a college has a winning ball team is not alone a reason for becoming a student within its walls, but often a factor in deciding. Scientific associations are especially valuable as affording opportunities for more specific investigation and more general and thorough discussion than can be permitted in the class room.

The new spirit showed itself also in the introduction of tennis this year. These items in the *Collegian* describe this interest.

Three different tennis clubs have been formed amongst the young men, each having laid off and arranged its court upon the campus. The tournament will begin on about April 19, the finals to be played off at 2 P.M. on Field Day.

The first young ladies' tennis club of Whitman College has been organized, consisting of Misses Bertha Leadbetter, Rose Baker, Lulu Hungate and Irene Belden. It has been named the "Idle Hour Club."

A new activity in social life also appeared in this year of lively hope and real development. President Eaton had gone east in October to raise funds for the College in New England, but had returned before the end of December. The feeling of the students toward him is shown by the following editorial in the *Collegian*:

"The President is here" was the word passed from student to student when they gathered to resume work on the evening of Jan. 3. He looks as if his trip had been of great benefit to him in every way, and we hope it has been a pleasant and profitable one. The students were delighted to

have him in his familiar place and a new impetus was given the work by his presence once more. We hope to have a report of his trip for publication in our next issue.

And that this editorial wish was not merely a pious gesture is proven by the fact that in the next issue the president's account of his eastern trip occurs in full, well written, vivid and indicating a spirit of friendliness which reaches across the years.

After describing his eastern journey with interesting description of the Triennial Council of Congregational Churches at Minneapolis which he attended as a delegate, a visit to Carleton College, to the World's Fair at Chicago and to a meeting of the American Missionary Association at Hartford, Connecticut, where he was delightfully entertained, he says:

Thence on to Boston to make final arrangements with the College Society, as to how and when I should work for it and Whitman. Then to Western Massachusetts where the real object of my journey lay and where what was for me a new kind of work began. Up and down through the Berkshire Hills, pleading for money to bring west to aid in educating the sons and daughters of far away Washington, that this new country might be helped to attain something of the intelligence and virtue, the Christianity, and prosperity so abounding in the land once trodden by the feet of the pilgrims. The principles of those self-denying heroes of old are stamped into the life and fibre of society there, so that all the hundreds of thousands of ignorant foreigners who have since come there have hardly changed it. Blessed old Massachusetts! No equal portion of the world gives so abundantly and self-denyingly to aid in the salvation and elevation of man elsewhere beyond its borders. Blessed is that land indeed, whose first settlers fear God, and love their fellowmen; who do not monopolize all for self, and who know that life is more than meat and the body more than raiment: Who by righteousness make the land a delightful land to dwell in. Such is Massachusetts to this day.

There my plea was kindly received, as I went from place to place. Interest was shown and help promised, in a few instances given at once so that hope for the future of Whitman was strengthened.

He gave an interesting description of old friends whom he met, and new friends whom he made in the Berkshires, especially at Adams and Dalton where the great paper factory of the Crane Brothers deservedly won his admiration and was vividly described. He was particularly pleased by an experience at Smith College where he met Pearl Gunn, who had been a student at Whitman in the previous year, and who said to him enthusiastically, "I am very happy here. I delight in Smith. Now I know what you meant when you were trying to make us understand last year what a college is. This is a college."

The stream of friendly relations between the students and the president did not, however, flow without a break or even dangerous cataract. A great difference of opinion arose between them on the question of Saturday work. In the fall before going East, President Eaton had changed the old time schedule, which had work on five days of the week with Saturday a full holiday, and had introduced a plan theretofore unknown in Walla Walla, of giving a half holiday on Saturday and one on Monday with classes assigned to the sixth day. What a ferment this change caused can hardly be believed at this day. It would seem that the pillars of the temple had been overthrown and that a great wrong had been done the faculty and students and townspeople. The following editorial in the *Collegian* appearing in the March number is not bitter though firm in its opposition to the new measure:

It was ardently hoped that there would be a change in the calendar for this term. In place of this new-fangled scheme of partial holidays on Mondays and Saturdays, we desire to return to our time-honored system of an entire holiday on Saturday and full work for the remainder of the week. This change from fractional holidays would bring Whitman again—as an Eastern contemporary has put it—into accord with the customs of the majority of Colleges. The advantages which the entire holiday plan possess can be questioned by no one who has worked under both. If any one thinks that poorer Monday's lessons result, let him study the record of daily marks and correct his mistake: if he supposed that the present system prevents Sunday study he can surely depend on the statements of our students and from these there is not one who studies more or less on Sunday because of the partial holiday on Monday.

On the other hand an uninterrupted day is of great value to those having outside work to do. And besides, a whole day for athletics or for preparing rhetorical society work would be of considerable advantage to the students. Every student, every friend and patron of the college, and almost every member of the faculty is in favor of having no school on Saturday. Why, then, may we not expect some change soon?

The president, however, continued adamant and, although in the course of years the Monday half holiday was dropped, the custom of a Saturday half holiday continues to the present time with only a brief interruption at the beginning of the next administration when the advantages to be gained by spreading the work over six days instead of five were speedily discovered.

A storm of feeling was caused by this controversy which lasted long and grew bitter, but that it did not interrupt the general good feeling and the quickening social life is shown by these items from the *Collegian*.

About eighteen of the students, chaperoned by President and Mrs. Eaton, enjoyed a most delightful sleigh ride on the evening of January 25. The crowning feature of the evening's enjoyment was the delightful lunch at President Eaton's.

On the evening of Feb. 25th, Professor and Mrs. L. F. Anderson pleasantly entertained the members of the faculty, the Athenaeum and Alcott Societies and the editorial staff of the *Whitman Collegian*.

The feelings of the students toward the resignation of Professor L. F. Anderson which came not long after, are well expressed in the April *Collegian*:

The resignation of Professor Anderson was the cause of much surprise and deep regret to every student of Whitman. He has been professor of Latin and Greek in this institution for eleven years and though we feel the greatness of our loss we can but allow that he is deserving of some of the time for himself which he has so devotedly given to Whitman through all this time. During his professorship in our college there has not been a more thorough teacher in any line, and by his tireless energy and persistent labors he has even made the dead languages to live and has maintained an excellence of classic work which is at par with the best.

He devoted the next year to post graduate work in Johns Hopkins University and returned to the faculty two years later.

The social and athletic climax of the year was marked by the Field Day on May 11, for which the faculty had granted a full holiday. The morning was devoted to the track and field events, which are cleverly and humorously described in the *Collegian* by a professed participant, and in the afternoon the banks and stores of the town were closed in honor of the baseball game between Whitman and the town nine of Waitsburg. From the fact that the *Collegian* does not give the score or mention the outcome of the game it may be inferred that the visiting nine won, but, if so, the zest of the day was not marred and the exuberance of feeling loose to the great social event of the evening, the party at Ladies' Hall.

By using an extra amount of arnica, court plaster and other restoratives, the athletes were able to present themselves for their respective prizes. With longing eyes some of us poor unfortunate ones gazed upon the bright array of badges, but when the ice cream and cake was announced all other things vanished, and so did the ice cream and cake.

That the rapidly developing new social spirit was felt to have its dangers was voiced by the *Collegian* in an editorial in the May issue:

In the Spring Term, the social and student life of Whitman seems in continual strife for importance. Socials, parties, society meetings, lectures

and baseball games crowd each other, each inviting the presence of the students. Then comes Commencement week with its exercises and enjoyments and closing events of the year. It is almost impossible to attend all the pleasant affairs that occur, and yet it seems almost impossible to leave any out of the list of each week. But lessons cannot be well learned when one has been out until a late hour the night before and the recitation room is often the scene of much yawning and nodding during this part of the year. The results of this will be seen when the term reports are received.

Students graduated at Commencement were four with the degree of B.S., one with the degree of B.L. and one from the Conservatory of Music.

Rev. Cushing Eells, who had been president of the Board of Trustees since its organization in 1860, and who had faithfully attended every commencement since the beginning of President Andersön's administration, died on February 16, 1893, on his eighty-third birthday, leaving his residuary estate to Whitman College, which ultimately benefited from it to the amount of \$10,000. During the year, besides the loss of Dr. Eells, the Board also lost by death or resignation, Mr. William Kirkman, Mr. George W. Somerindyke, and Rev. Jonathan Edwards. Mr. Kirkman had been a vigorous, capable and generous supporter of the College and his death was deeply felt. He left it a bequest of \$5,000.

At commencement Rev. Myron Eells, younger son of Cushing Eells and missionary to the Indians of the Skokomish Reservation, on Puget Sound, was elected president to succeed his father, an office which he held until 1896, though he continued as a member of the Board until his death in 1907. At this same meeting Rev. Wallace Nutting, D.D., pastor of Plymouth Congregational Church, Seattle, Rev. L. H. Hallock, D.D., pastor of the First Congregational Church of Tacoma, Mr. Harry A. Reynolds, of Walla Walla, and Rev. S. B. L. Penrose, pastor of the Congregational Church at Dayton, were elected members of the Board and the last named was made secretary of the executive committee which at this time consisted of President Eaton, J. F. Boyer, treasurer, Dr. N. G. Blalock, Mr. H. E. Johnson and the secretary.

The financial burden which the president had to carry was unceasingly and increasingly heavy. The uncertainty of student's tuition and of aid to be received from the East, from the College and Education Society, tried him night and day, yet all the while he was carrying a teaching load which included Theism, Logic and Philosophy, Evidence of Christianity, History of Philosophy, Ethics and Aesthetics. The enlargement of the faculty which was

indispensable for the extension of the curriculum in order to equalize the work of the three degrees, entailed increased outlay and added to his anxieties. So long as the financial condition of the country was prosperous it was likely that the College would succeed in meeting its obligations. During his first two years economic conditions were good but in the spring of 1893 the Baring failure was followed by a world wide economic depression which was quickly felt in the Walla Walla Valley.

In the summer of 1893 an unprecedented disaster befell the Walla Walla Valley. The wheat harvest was ruined by rain which began early in August and lasted with little cessation, through the entire month. The wheat sprouted in the stacks and rotted in the sacks. It had been an abundant harvest which had brought hope and joy to the hearts of the farmers, but now those hopes were dashed to the ground and every interest in the community suffered, for wheat had become the chief industry of the valley, and all business ultimately depended upon it. The effect of the financial depression throughout the county was shown in the sharp increase of chattel mortgages, rising to a peak in 1894. The chattel mortgage is a real distress loan—and, in 1894, 601 mortgages were recorded in Walla Walla County as compared with 332 in 1892 and 250 in 1897. The effect upon the attendance at the College was immediately felt. There was a dropping off of students which some attempted to explain as having arisen from antagonism to President Eaton and his new-fangled eastern ways, but, although this may have had something to do with the drop, and some students went elsewhere, the economic situation is a sufficient explanation apart from any personal antagonism which may have arisen.

It is significant that whereas President Eaton had gone East to raise money in the fall of 1892, he did not do so in the fall of 1893, evidently feeling that the times were not propitious and probably being warned by the College and Education Society in Boston that such efforts would be inadvisable at that time. We can see the clouds of economic depression gathering ever deeper about him until the year 1894 was black with gloom. Because the price of wheat continued abnormally low and no new crop had been harvested, the buoyancy characteristic of the western mind was gone and pessimism was widely spread throughout the community. It is probable that the depression of 1893-95 was felt more acutely and wrought greater changes in the economic structure than any depression before or since. No benevolent government stood ready to help the debtors and each man must stand on his own feet until the ground under him was swept away and

he disappeared into the abyss. Poverty was extreme and economies of every sort were practiced. What wonder that the luxury of a college education should be cut off until at least better times returned!

Yet it is surprising that the attendance kept up as well as it did through the dreadful year of '93-'94. A catalogue published towards the end of the academic year shows an attendance of 17 college students, 90 preparatory students, and 47 students of music, art and business. Considering business conditions the wonder is not that so few attended but that the loss was so comparatively slight.

That Whitman College, under President Eaton, climbed to a higher scholastic level is shown unmistakably by the fact that when, in the spring of 1894, a member of the junior class, who thought of transferring to the University of California to complete his college course, wrote to that institution to find out what loss of credit, if any, would attend the transfer, he learned to his surprise that the University of California fully accredited work at Whitman and would transfer a student to the same rank without loss of credit, although at this time students at the University of Washington lost a year of credit by such transfer and students at the University of Oregon two years. Such recognition of the quality and extent of Whitman's teaching by the University of California which, at that time, stood at the head of educational institutions on the Pacific Coast—Stanford University not yet having graduated its first class—not only amazed and delighted the student in question, but demonstrated the efficiency of President Eaton's development of the curriculum.

It will be recalled that in the first report which President Anderson had submitted to the Trustees in December, 1882, he had called their attention forcibly to the need of a new campus. "Add twenty-five acres to your present beautiful grounds or secure thirty acres outside the city limits." President Eaton immediately recognized the same necessity for an enlarged or new campus if the College was to attain the development for which he hoped, and he began at once to consider with the Trustees other possible sites. Before the end of February, 1892, within three months of his assumption of his duties as president, several proposals to sell or give to the college additional land for a site were received. The list of these proposals is interesting, although only two of them claimed careful consideration. Five were proposals to sell to the College lands, and in some cases residences, in the vicinity of the College or immediately adjacent to it, but only one, that made by the executors of the estate of Dr. D. S. Baker, who had died in

1889, received serious consideration. The Baker estate offered to sell twenty acres of land south and east of the College grounds for \$1,500 an acre cash. "Realizing that the purchase price must almost of necessity come from private donations we tender you the sum of \$10,000, limited, however, by one condition, to wit, that the balance of the fund necessary to consummate the purchase be confined to subscriptions from residents of the State of Washington, leaving foreign donations as a resource for a building fund."

Beside these properties adjacent to the campus there were offered also what was known as the Bryant tract of forty acres, one mile southeast of the College and the Mountain View tract beyond it, extending to the city cemetery. This last included "31½ acres in the form of a parallelogram, 1,590 feet by 860 feet, being blocks 30, 31, 32, 37, 38, 39, 44, 45, 46, and the streets lying wholly within these blocks. And block 3 of the Ransom Clark Donation Claim containing twelve acres and situated in the corner of the Clark Place nearest the Mountain View Campus." The idea was that the Ransom Clark tract would be useful for an athletic field in the future. "The consideration for this grant was the locating and maintaining of Whitman College upon the Mountain View site, the site to be deeded to the Trustees of Whitman College when \$15,000 has been expended upon the campus in buildings and fixed improvements. The limit of time to be agreed upon between the Trustees of Whitman College and the grantors of said site." The proposal was formally tendered on July 6, 1893, by Mr. Harry A. Reynolds, on behalf of the grantors, the Ransom Clark tract being the proposed gift of his mother, Mrs. L. J. Reynolds.

President Eaton was favorably inclined at first towards the last named proposal although later he seemed to favor the Bryant tract. On December 2, 1892, he had written to Mr. Reynolds from Great Barrington, Massachusetts, when he was in the East raising funds for the College. "I hope the Mountain View matter is all right, as I am counting on it. You need not fear to consider it settled in my mind. Go ahead with it and also make your street car plans accordingly, etc. If you have it ready when I return I will have the committee formally accept it at once and set the matter at rest for all time." The reference to the street car line was to the plan of the Mountain View donors to build a street car line from the O.W.R. & N. depot at the foot of Elm Street, on the northwest edge of the town, up Main to Second, out Second to Birch, east on Birch to Park Street and thence two miles south to the corner of the city cemetery then far beyond the city limits.

They believed that the value of such a street car line would be enhanced by the location of the College near its terminus. Accepting the statements made in this letter by President Eaton they proceeded to construct the line which thereafter for many years continued in operation running two one-horse cars, which started simultaneously from the two ends of the five mile line, and met near the corner of Park and Birch Streets.

Despite the definite assurances given by President Eaton to Mr. Reynolds in the letter of December 2, quoted above, that he favored the Mountain View site, it would seem that his mind wavered for reasons that cannot now be traced and that, after favoring the Bryant tract, he turned his mind towards the removal of the College from Walla Walla. His views and those probably of a majority of the Board are indicated in a letter from the Secretary to Mr. Reynolds of May 26, 1893, which says:

I had a long talk with President Eaton about the College in all its details, and was quite well satisfied with the general results. He is by no means set against the Mountain View site, nor set for the Bryant place, but disposed to do whatever shall be judged to be for the best interests of the College. He will not urge the Bryant place. He realizes the difficulties in the way. At the same time he is a little afraid of the risk of going out to Mountain View, which he considers a "leap in the dark." He is a good deal "up a stump" as to what can be done to save the College. The item of expense in connection with moving out to Mountain View and of living out there weighs with him. He thinks that the College buildings could not be moved out so far safely.

I should advise you to find out the possibility and cost of moving the buildings out. Is the street wide enough for the recitation building to be taken? What would it cost, and how would the buildings stand the racket?

At present, in my own private opinion, there are only four alternatives open to the College as regards site:

- (1) to stay where they are.
- (2) to buy the Bryant place.
- (3) to go to Mountain View.
- (4) to move away from Walla Walla to the Sound.

You would better wait until after the Trustees meet before completing your arrangements for the Mt. View property. But Eaton will not *oppose* it; he is only somewhat sceptical as to the feasibility.

But nothing was done at commencement to settle the question of a site because the deepening financial depression made a decision impossible. A year later the situation was further complicated and the effect of the depression revealed by the withdrawal of the Baker Estate's offer in a letter written July 19, 1894, by Ex-Governor Miles C. Moore to the secretary.

Replying to your favor of the 17th, inst., I am obliged to say, owing to the continued money stringency and the uncertainty regarding the future financial conditions, the board of Executors of the Baker Estate are not inclined at present to renew the informal offer made sometime last year to pay \$10,000 for the Whitman College property.

To your other question, "Will the Baker Estate give to the Trustees of Whitman College a quit-claim deed to the property now occupied by the College in order that it may be sold?" the answer is as follows: The Executors would first want to know what price was to be realized, and have assurance that the proceeds were to be judiciously invested. They will be governed in this matter by what they conceive to be for the best interests of the school. Personally, I favor removal to "the new site," but there are so many interests and opinions to harmonize, that I can give you no positive assurance, and none beyond this: that I believe if a fair price is offered for the property the Estate would make the necessary quit-claim deed required to perfect a transfer.

As a result of this communication the Executive Committee met on July 26, and voted to abandon for the present all thought of moving the College to a new local site, and instructed the secretary to notify Mr. Reynolds, as follows: "We feel under obligation to inform you of the state of affairs, and to stop all negotiations for the present which have in view the acquisition of another site. We do this feeling ourselves to be constrained by circumstances over which we have no control and for which we are not responsible. We are very grateful to you for the hearty interest which you have shown and for your unflagging zeal."

The possibility of moving the College to some other place was given substance by an offer received from Mr. Chaplin, of Olympia, to give an ample site and a large cash donation if the College would move to that place. The out-of-town trustees and President Eaton gave more consideration to the possibility of removal than did the local men who naturally wished to retain the College in Walla Walla. The feeling of the trustees on the Sound is clearly shown by the following passage in the diary of the Rev. Myron Eells for December 30, 1893. "Have returned today from a trip to Tacoma where I have met President Eaton, Drs. Nutting, and Hallock in the interests of Whitman College. It looks very much as if the College would be choked to death at that place, but it may do better elsewhere. Its future seems uncertain except as it is certainly in the hands of God who will answer in some way—in the best way—father's prayers."

The Olympia offer hung in the air until, a year later, it was carefully investigated and its impracticability discovered. The diary of Rev. Myron Eells under date of June 26, 1894, tells the story.

Returned tonight from a trip to Olympia to meet others as a committee on location of Whitman College. The party consisted of President Eaton and Messrs. Hallock, Diven, Powelson, Greene, Bailey, Brintnall, Mrs. Hallock, Mrs. Diven and myself who went on a steam launch to the site of Mr. Chaplin's proposed Olympic University. His offer to Whitman College is, To build a building worth \$100,000 and raise \$250,000 for endowment (or a building of \$75,000 and \$50,000 endowment) and he will give us \$75,000, which may be put into this building in 18 months, and a campus of 40 acres, four and a half miles from Olympia and build in three years a Hall of Science worth \$50,000. The name must be Olympic University with Whitman College as a college attached. He gives us five months for an answer. I do not know whether he can do it, or whether a college will live there. It is a doubtful experiment. At any rate, we cannot give an answer till we see whether Walla Walla people will raise what we have asked them to raise.

The last sentence refers to the offer that had been made by Dr. D. K. Pearsons and the request of the trustees that the community express its willingness to meet his conditions. When however, as will be told presently, the local committee of which Mr. W. P. Winans was chairman, reported that in view of the prevailing economic conditions nothing could be done in the way of raising subscriptions at that time, the question of removal was finally settled.

In the early spring of 1894 an amazing event occurred which thrilled President Eaton and the entire community, and filled them with new hope for the College. One day a letter was received from a man hitherto unknown to any of them, Dr. D. K. Pearsons of Chicago, saying that he would give \$50,000 for the endowment of Whitman College provided that \$150,000 additional was secured for the same purpose. The Trustees were astonished by the offer and did not know at first whether it could be taken seriously, for the great-hearted but eccentric philanthropist had only recently begun his career of generous giving by making a similar offer to Lake Forest and to Knox Colleges three years before. But it was soon learned through business channels that he was worth at least \$5,000,000 and that his reputation was on the highest level in his home town, Chicago. It was also learned that his unexpected offer to Whitman College was the result of his intimate friendship with Dr. O. W. Nixon, the literary editor of the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, who had formed the habit of writing each year on November 29 an editorial to honor Marcus Whitman as a patriot and hero. Neither of the two old men, over seventy years of age, had seen Whitman College or knew much about it, but Dr. Nixon persuaded Dr. Pearsons that a Christian college was the worthiest

memorial for such a man as Dr. Whitman, and so, out of a clear sky, the astounding offer was made.

Immediately energetic steps were taken to meet the offer if possible. A committee of leading men was appointed to canvass the community. W. P. Winans, president of the Farmer's Bank, Ex-Governor Miles C. Moore, president of the Baker-Boyer Bank, Levi Ankeny, president of the First National Bank, William O'Donnell, representing the business interests and Harry A. Reynolds, representing the farming interests were the committee. It was hoped that such a committee, in the face of so unprecedented an offer, might be able to meet the conditions of Dr. Pearson's gift despite the widespread and deepening financial depression from which the country had been suffering for the past year. Mr. Reynolds at once offered to give \$10,000 toward the fund.

The summer of 1894 was one of intense anxiety to the friends of the College, who felt that the institution could not go on under its present administration in face of the appalling financial conditions of the country. There were other reasons than the general financial depression which made the end of President Eaton's administration inevitable. There had been differences of opinion between him and the faculty and between him and the Trustees, though most of the latter were ready to follow his lead. He was a masterful man, determined always to have his own way, and antagonized by any one who differed from him. The usual judicial attitude and calmness of spirit which he ordinarily showed seemed to disappear in the presence of such persons, and he showed a suspiciousness and jealousy which made it impossible for him to treat those who differed from him as though they were his friends and not his enemies.

Differences of opinion between him and Professor W. D. Lyman concerning the changes in the schedule and the curriculum developed into an irreconcilable alienation which only deepened as time went on. He determined to force Professor Lyman's resignation from the faculty although he was its most popular member, respected by the students for his versatility and talents and much liked for his affability and sympathy. Dr. Eaton endeavored to secure radical action by the Trustees, declaring his professorship vacant, and had almost succeeded in doing so, when a joint committee of alumni, students and townspeople petitioned the Trustees to be heard on the subject and appeared before them at commencement. The representations of this committee concerning the popularity of Professor Lyman and his effectiveness as a teacher, made so deep an impression upon the Trustees that they

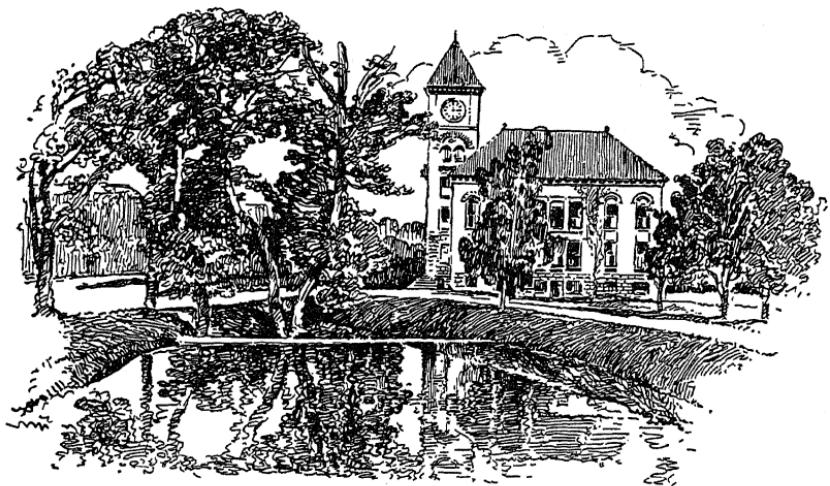
voted to continue him in office and thus ended the controversy.

Commencement, 1894, saw the graduation of three students, all with the A.B. degree and two from the Conservatory of Music, with no apparent evidence of the collapse which was impending. That the president felt it coming was indicated by the fact that he advised certain students to look elsewhere for their college education, telling them privately that the college would not open in the fall. But he held his position doggedly and as long as he did so it was impossible to know what to do or to provide for his successor. Moreover the committee of business men who had been appointed to raise the funds necessary to secure the offer of Dr. D. K. Parsons appeared before the Trustees on July 23, and reported, that in view of economic conditions, they did not deem it advisable to take any active steps in the matter at that time. This deepened the confusion and despair. Only a few brave hearts held on, notably Mr. Harry A. Reynolds, in confidence that a way would open at last through the gloom.

On August 11, President Eaton told the Board that if his salary and that of Professor Craig were paid in full he would present his resignation. Why he included Professor Craig in his proposal was not clear, and it complicated the situation because Professor Craig was absent on his summer vacation and could not be reached. At last President Eaton reluctantly consented to waive his condition concerning Professor Craig, and to accept his own arrears of salary as his condition for resigning. Immediately a desperate effort was made by Mr. Reynolds to secure the necessary money in cash from the community and in a short time \$1,710 had been secured. When his salary had been paid to him President Eaton presented his resignation to the Executive Committee on September 3, and prepared immediately to return East. The Executive Committee accepted the resignation, subject to the approval of the full Board, and voted that the College should open on September 18, with Professor W. D. Lyman in temporary charge. A meeting of the Board of Trustees was held on September 17, with Messrs. Hallock, Eells, Blalock, Johnson, and Reynolds in attendance. They voted to accept the resignation of President Eaton, approved the actions of the Executive Committee and then elected as president by ballot and unanimously, Rev. S. B. L. Penrose, then in Honolulu, where he had been during the entire summer.

Out of the confusion and ever-deepening gloom of this last tragic year the figure of Harry A. Reynolds, of Walla Walla, who had been elected Secretary of the Executive Committee and of the Board of Trustees at the annual meeting in June, emerges as

the virtual savior of the College from complete collapse. The son of pioneer parents—his mother as a little girl had come across the plains in the great wagon train of 1843 led by Dr. Marcus Whitman—both of whom were warm friends of Cushing Eells—he had grown up in a religious atmosphere, permeated by devotion to the College. A student in Whitman Seminary under Professor Mariner, he had graduated from the University of Michigan in 1886 and returned to Walla Walla to study law. Unwavering in his loyalty to the College and determined that it should continue in existence despite all difficulties, he had shown a faith and courage that never wavered and a generosity which gave lavishly of time and effort and money. If it had not been for him it may be safely said that the College would have closed its doors perhaps forever. Forty years afterwards at the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the institution, the faculty and trustees of Whitman College tardily expressed their appreciation of Mr. Reynolds's character and service by conferring upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts.



CHAPTER VIII

GROWTH

During the year 1883-84 that Cushing Eells had spent in New England to raise money for his beloved College he had naturally visited Williamstown, Massachusetts, to attend the fiftieth reunion of his class at Williams College, the only time that he was able to visit his Alma Mater since he had graduated in 1834. While he was addressing the alumni association at commencement, an idle junior who happened to be passing by the chapel was drawn by curiosity to enter and see who was speaking so earnestly. He saw a small man with white beard and hair, standing on the platform and speaking with apostolic fervor. He did not listen to what the stranger was saying and did not find out until many years after who the speaker was. But, by an odd coincidence, that idle junior was destined to carry on the work which Cushing Eells had begun. While the old man was agonizing over Whitman College, wrestling with God in prayer for it every night, and trusting that deliverance might come, this young man was being prepared under the teaching of Mark Hopkins to come to its assistance. Who could have predicted that their lives would come together and that ten years later that student would become the president of Whitman College?

Stephen Beasley Linnard Penrose was born in Philadelphia, December 20, 1864, of a family that had lived in Philadelphia for more than two hundred years. No member of that family had moved away from eastern Pennsylvania except his great grandfather, Clement Biddle Penrose, who had been appointed by President Jefferson as one of the Commissioners of the Louisiana Territory and had consequently lived thereafter in St. Louis. It was unlikely that a boy of that family would move away from Philadelphia.

His father, Clement Biddle Penrose, was for thirty years Judge of the Orphans Court of Philadelphia and a recognized authority on Pennsylvania probate procedure. The boy studied at the William Penn Charter School under its famous head master, Richard M. Jones, and entered Williams College in September, 1881, at the beginning of the administration of President Franklin Carter. He was interested in all phases of college life, scholarship, athletics, music, public speaking, writing, society, and religion, and graduated in 1885, after winning many prizes and being elected to membership in Phi Beta Kappa at the end of his junior year. Mark Hopkins was his teacher in Mental and Moral Philosophy. When in his senior year he decided to enter the ministry his father was opposed and Dr. Hopkins advised him, on account of his youth, to teach for a few years. He accepted the advice and taught for a year in the Hill School at Pottstown, Pennsylvania, under its great principal, John Meigs, a master in the art of teaching boys. He then was called back to Williams College as instructor of Greek and rhetoric, and as a member of the faculty, gained an insight into the inner workings of a college besides learning how to teach college students.

But, though he might have stayed on at Williams to become eventually a professor, the call of the ministry could not be disregarded. He attended Princeton Theological Seminary for one year, and Yale Divinity School for two years, receiving the degree of B.D. from Yale in 1890. During the summer vacation of 1889, he went as a home missionary to Colorado, organizing a church at Green Mountain Falls, and completing a church building before he left. During his senior year he preached in the Congregational Church at Lenox, Massachusetts, and was called to be its pastor. Before his graduation at Yale he and five of his classmates in the Divinity School conceived the idea of organizing a band for home missionary work in order to try out a new plan of co-operative effort. Offered by the Congregational Home Missionary Society their choice of the United States as a field, they decided that Washington, just become a state, was the most promising region

and that their work there would count most for the Kingdom of God. He then definitely decided to leave the Presbyterian Church in which he had been brought up and become a Congregationalist, being licensed to preach by the New Haven Central Association.

In September, 1890, the Yale Washington Band began their active work, Mr. Penrose taking the pastorate of the abandoned Congregational church of Dayton, Washington, which had been closed for three years and had only six members, three of them confirmed invalids and all of them over sixty years of age. Here he was ordained as a Congregational minister and remained for four years, preaching and lecturing, gaining a valuable experience in doing all sorts of work, helping to organize a Chautauqua Circle, holding service in outlying schoolhouses, teaching and superintending Sunday School. He was appointed Secretary of the Board of Trustees of Whitman College in 1892, thus becoming somewhat acquainted with its problems of administration and with its faculty and students.

After the church at Dayton had come to self-support, he was invited by the great Central Union Church of Honolulu to supply its pulpit for the summer of 1894, with the distinct understanding that the church would be under no obligation to him nor he to the church. At the end of the summer the church called him to be its pastor, but he declined and sailed from Honolulu on September 15. When he reached San Francisco, he found awaiting him a telegram from the Board of Trustees, announcing that he had been elected president of Whitman College, the resignation of President Eaton having been presented during his absence. He at once replied that he could not accept the position until he had visited the institution and studied the situation.

Lingering for a few days in California, he visited Stanford University, then three years old, and called upon President David Starr Jordan, its distinguished head. The great educator was interested in the young man and gave up the whole day to him, inviting him and his companion to luncheon and personally showing them about the young university, already grown to impressive proportions. Dr. Jordan told how, when he had first assumed the presidency of Stanford University, Senator Stanford had said to him one day, "Jordan, I have only one piece of advice to give you. Never do anything yourself that you can get some one else to do for you." This was, of course, the secret of administrative wisdom, but it was not appreciated at the time by the younger man who preferred to follow the saying of Benjamin Franklin, "If you want a thing well done, do it yourself." When the visitors were taking their leave, deeply impressed by what they had seen and

by the gracious treatment which they had received, President Jordan said to Mr. Penrose, "Young man, I have only one piece of advice to give you." The young man listened, breathless, to receive what words of wisdom might fall from the great man's lips. "I have only one piece of advice to give you; never hold a faculty meeting!" He went on to explain that faculty meetings gave occasion for faction and discord and that an institution would run more smoothly if it were not agitated by dissension among its faculty. The young man thanked him and took his leave but not the advice, recoiling instinctively from the distrust of teachers which it seemed to imply, and from that masterfulness of spirit to which the slowness of faculty action and their differences of opinion were irritating. He was in fact to adopt a policy directly opposite to that which Dr. Jordan had advised, for, perhaps the most significant thing about the administration which was to follow was the trust which was shown in the faculty and the steady effort to get each member of the faculty to assume personal responsibility for the life of the institution.

He arrived in Walla Walla on October 2, and found that a handful of students had been gathered together through the efforts of Professor Lyman. There were thirty-four students assembled in the chapel when he visited the College and of these only four were properly college students. The faculty consisted of five members, Professor Lyman, Professor Craig, Miss Pepoon, Miss Young, and Professor Rupp besides the Matron, Miss Myra Davis. The salaries of the Faculty had not been fully paid for the previous year, notes for the several amounts due having been given to each teacher. The College had no endowment, and a further debt of \$8,000 at twelve per cent was hanging over it. It had three wooden buildings and a campus of six and a half acres. Except for a faithful few, no one seemed to believe in its future or to care much whether it lived or died. There were people who believed in it and who were praying for it, but the young president did not know of them.

The business situation was at its worst. An unprecedented flood on the Columbia River in June had caused untold loss and the great railroad strike in July had paralyzed industry. The price of wheat was only about twenty cents a bushel though it cost at least thirty-five cents a bushel to raise, and the raising of wheat was the chief industry of the Walla Walla Valley. Farmers could not pay their bills to the merchants, nor the interest on their mortgages. Times were harder than they had ever been before. And yet Mr. Penrose was firmly convinced that a good college was necessary for the best life of the region and he had confidence

that, under Divine guidance, the need would be met. After a few days for deliberation and counsel with the friends of the College and especially with that member of the Yale Band, his friend Rev. Edward Lincoln Smith, who was pastor of the Congregational Church, he reached a decision and announced to the trustees that he would accept their invitation to become president of the institution, setting his own salary at \$1,500.

A single ray of hope lightened the picture. The offer made in the previous spring by Dr. D. K. Pearsons to give \$50,000 to endow the College on condition that \$150,000 of additional endowment be secured. To undertake such a task seemed absurd under the circumstances, but it was a task which could not be shirked. Moreover in looking through the College library, he had come across Barrows' "Oregon" in the American Commonwealth series and had been thrilled by the story of Marcus Whitman and his heroic services to the country. Although he had formerly been for a time secretary of the Board of Trustees, and had become personally acquainted with Cushing Eells, he had known nothing about Dr. Whitman and the amazing history of his missionary devotion, his patriotic efforts and his tragic death. He realized at once the value of the story to the College as a basis of appeal to patriotic people and he resolved to make use of it in every legitimate way. He at once prepared a leaflet, "The Romance of a College," in which the heroism of Marcus Whitman and the consecration of Cushing Eells were presented as a justification for the establishment of Whitman College. Thenceforward for several years he based his appeal for funds upon this inspiring story of pioneer devotion and upon the need for an institution which should be their worthy monument.

The young president was confronted by four important problems. First, that of securing the Pearsons endowment, indispensable to the life of the institution. Second, the making of a college faculty which would lift the institution to a higher academic level. Third, the securing of additional campus and adequate buildings for the college when it should begin to grow, as he believed it would, and, fourth, the invigoration of the life of the college with a new spirit and new ideals. As the first of these problems was the most pressing he devoted his immediate and wholehearted attention to it. Although entirely inexperienced in raising money, it seemed to him essential that a considerable part of the amount to be raised must be secured in Walla Walla and the neighborhood of the College before an appeal to the people of the East could effectively be made. Though the depression had not lifted, and hard times still prevailed in the city and county with unprece-

dented severity, the committee of business men who had been appointed the previous spring to secure subscriptions to meet Dr. Pearson's conditional offer and who, in midsummer, had reported that nothing could be done at the time now expressed willingness to proceed with their task. A vigorous campaign was immediately prosecuted which secured \$50,000 in subscriptions conditioned upon a total of \$200,000 being paid within five years. Probably most of the subscribers did not expect that their subscriptions would ever be called for. The largest subscribers were Mr. Harry A. Reynolds, Honorable Levi Ankeny, and Mrs. D. S. Baker.

With \$50,000 thus assured conditionally, though useless to relieve the needs of the College until the remaining \$100,000 should be subscribed, it was felt that so excellent a showing must impress Dr. Pearson and the people of the East. It was decided that the president should go East at once to become acquainted with Dr. Pearson and raise the remainder of the fund in New England and the Middle West.

Leaving the work of the College to be carried on by Professor Lyman and the faculty, Mr. Penrose started East in January to devote the next year and a half to his difficult task. He returned for a brief visit at commencement when he preached the Baccalaureate sermon and was publicly inaugurated as president. The attendance had by this time increased from the four college and thirty Academy students who had greeted the president in September to an enrollment of eleven college students and eighty-two students in other departments. Again he returned for a brief visit at the opening of college in the fall to introduce the new members of the faculty whom he had secured and initiate them into their new responsibilities, but otherwise he devoted his entire time to raising money and met with considerable success. The college had an influential friend in Chicago, Dr. O. W. Nixon, for seventeen years literary editor of the great metropolitan newspaper, *The Inter-Ocean*. An enthusiastic admirer of Dr. Whitman, he had been in the habit of publishing each year, on November 29, the anniversary of the Whitman massacre, an editorial upon the tragedy of Waiilatpu, proclaiming the heroic qualities of Doctor and Mrs. Whitman and calling upon the people of the United States to honor and commemorate them. Dr. Nixon, as knightly a soul as ever lived, had in his youth lived in Oregon territory, going there as a pioneer in 1851 and serving as purser on the "Lot Whitcomb," the first steamboat that ran on the Columbia River. He had talked with the older pioneers and had learned from them at first hand the Whitman story, which ever afterwards burned brightly in his heart. He was now a man of power, brother

of the proprietor of *The Inter-Ocean*, William Penn Nixon, and an intimate friend of the wealthy and eccentric Dr. D. K. Pearsons. It had been at the suggestion of Dr. Nixon in February, 1894, that Dr. Pearsons had made the startling offer of \$50,000 to Whitman College.

These two old men of seventy-five were the first friends that the young college president made. He called upon them first and won their confidence. From then until their death they gave him their trust and help and affection. Dr. Nixon was already writing his book "How Marcus Whitman Saved Oregon" in order to aid the College in its campaign for friends and funds. He published it in the spring of 1895 and it helped greatly by its wide sale to spread the romantic story of Whitman and his sacrifice for patriotism. He gave to the College all that he made from the sale of the book.

The acquaintance with Dr. Pearsons began surprisingly. Calling upon him by appointment in his office in the *Tribune* building, and arriving promptly at eleven o'clock, the hour designated, Mr. Penrose found a tall, handsome and bright eyed old man, sitting in a swivel chair at a roll-top desk. He wore a silk hat on the back of his head and did not remove it during the interview. As the young man announced his name, the famous philanthropist swung round in his chair and, pointing to a vacant seat, shouted "Sit down there! Now tell me all about it." But beyond saying a few words in answer to the old man's questions there was no need for speech. Dr. Pearsons poured out a vigorous stream of talk, a tirade upon the financial ignorance of colleges, upon college football which he detested, and upon the inadequacies of college presidents whom he had known. Suddenly he looked at his watch, closed his roll-top desk and rose, "I must catch my train," he said; "come tomorrow at the same time, and then you do the talking." The next day the same scene was re-enacted. The Doctor did the talking; the young man discreetly listening. After that all ice disappeared, acquaintance rapidly ripened into friendship, and the interest of the Doctor in Whitman College steadily grew. It became one of his favorite colleges and he took thenceforth a fatherly interest in the person of its president.

The debt upon the College amounted, with interest, to \$12,500 and the burden must if possible be lifted. The rate of interest was twelve per cent. To Dr. Pearsons debts were intolerable, and to admit that a college had a debt was almost enough to forfeit his confidence. Taking his heart in his hand, Mr. Penrose told the Doctor one day about the debt and said that he intended to get some of his friends to lend him the money at a lower rate of

interest. "Nonsense!" shouted the Doctor, "It's not a business proposition. Nobody would lend you the money." And then he delivered a lecture upon the heinousness of all debts in general and of this debt in particular. When his hearer seemed entirely crushed and hopeless and said a few words about the great need of the College, suddenly the old man roared, "How much do you want? I'll lend you the money. Sit down here and make me out your note!" Joyously and not altogether taken by surprise, the young man obeyed. He made out a note for \$12,500 at six per cent and signed it with his own name as president of Whitman College. He would have signed for any amount, for he had nothing in the world but hope, and he wondered that his personal signature should be accepted for so large a sum. He thought that perhaps his signing the note as president relieved him of personal responsibility, but whether it did or not, his main feeling was one of amazement that Dr. Pearson should trust him. The check was deposited in a Chicago bank and when he returned to Walla Walla shortly after, he paid off all the indebtedness, including the notes which had been given to the faculty for the previous year, and the College was at last free from debt.

Dr. Pearson evidently looked at the matter differently, regarding the transaction as an evidence of courage and determination on the part of the young man. When at the expiration of the first year the interest, \$750, was promptly sent him, he sent it back to the College as a gift for current expenses. When Mr. Penrose was married on June 17, 1896, to Miss Mary Deming Shipman of Hartford, Connecticut, Dr. Pearson sent to her the original note as a wedding present with this characteristic letter:

Chicago—May 29, 1896.

MISS SHIPMAN:

This Note should be kept as a memento. It was given me for the purpose of paying the mortgage and back pay of the teachers of Whitman College. This debt is now paid and you can present it to the College when you choose, and I think it should be placed in a glass case and kept forever. It was a bold move on the part of President Penrose to sign a note of \$12,500 when not one cent was in sight to pay it. The note represents the actual poverty of the College when Penrose assumed control. I give the Note to you as a wedding present, and also as a sample of the faith and courage of your future Husband.

Truly
D. K. PEARSONS

Thereafter he always took a deep personal interest in the young couple, calling one "The Boy" and speaking of the other as "My Girl."

Miss Shipman's grandfather, Rev. Thomas L. Shipman, had long been deeply interested in Whitman College and whenever he visited Hartford had been in the habit of calling on old Mrs. Northrup, who had raised \$1,000 for a scholarship there, and praying with her for the little institution which was so dear to them both. When the engagement of his granddaughter to the young president of Whitman College took place, Miss Shipman's mother laughingly said that the match must have been made in heaven as an answer to their prayers.

The young president then proceeded to the East endeavoring to raise money by telling everywhere the Whitman story. He spoke in churches, before clubs, at summer hotels, and to individuals. He visited Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Portland, Maine, Andover, Worcester, Pittsfield, Springfield, Hartford, New Haven, Cleveland, Chicago, and many smaller towns. The Congregational Club of Chicago heard him, and at the instigation of Dr. Nixon and Dr. Parsons voted \$1,000 to the College. He told the story to Mr. John H. Converse, head of the Baldwin Locomotive works in Philadelphia, one evening at his house and the next day received a check for \$1,000. At Lake Mohonk he was invited by the famous hotel proprietor, Mr. Albert K. Smiley, to tell the story to his guests, and at the end of the evening a collection was taken which amounted to more than \$1,000.

It was at that time contrary to the policy of the Congregational Educational Society of Boston to allow representatives of western institutions to invade the New England field and secure gifts directly from the churches and individuals who gave to that society. The directors therefore voted that if Whitman College would send no solicitor to New England the society would contribute \$25,000 to the College, the money to be raised by their agent, Rev. John L. Maile, whose salary and expenses should be paid out of the moneys raised. This amount was raised within two years and turned over to the College, but the names of those who had given to it were withheld, so that the officers of the College never knew, until a quarter of a century afterwards, who were the generous individuals, churches and societies who had helped it in the time of its great need.

Miss Virginia Dox was secured at the suggestion of Dr. Nixon to act as financial agent for the College. This remarkable woman had been a missionary in Utah, a teacher and a field representative of the New West Education Commission. Eloquent, dramatic, picturesque and indefatigable she became filled with enthusiasm for the memory of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman and the college founded in their honor which she had never seen. She devoted herself with

fiery ardor and tireless energy to completing the Pearsons Endowment Fund. She told the Whitman story all over the middle states and the Mississippi Valley in hundreds of churches and to thousands of individuals. She begged for gifts, large or small, and by her thrilling oratory as well as by personal persistence she completed the raising of the fund within the given time. She wore herself out in the service of the College. Dr. Parsons was so impressed by her original and self-sacrificing personality that he recommended the College to continue her in its employ after the completion of the campaign, and advised that she be appointed Instructor of American History on the College Faculty. The announcement was made in the catalogue of 1899 but the position was never filled. Miss Dox's health had broken irretrievably, and, after a winter on half-pay in Cuba seeking in vain to recover her strength, she resigned as field secretary of the College and severed her connection with it, greatly to the regret of all connected with the institution. It is faint praise to say that but for the labors of this gifted, eccentric, indomitable woman the first financial campaign of Whitman College would have ended in failure or been long delayed.

Mr. Penrose was the youngest college president in the United States when he began his administration in 1894. He had made no study of the history or science of education, had had neither experience nor training in the art of raising money, and knew little about the history or needs of the particular institution which had asked him to become its president. He had the advantage of youth, of unflagging courage, of a strong religious faith and of a sound though brief teaching experience. He had been well educated as education went in those days, and had learned while a home missionary pastor to speak effectively in public and to rely upon himself while taking counsel with other people.

The securing of new members for the faculty was an important part of his work in the East during the first year. Walter A. Bratton, Williams, '94, teacher in Drury Academy at North Adams, Massachusetts, was appointed professor of Mathematics and Astronomy. Benjamin H. Brown, Ripon, '94, was appointed professor of the Natural Sciences. Louis F. Anderson, Washington, '81, son of ex-president A. J. Anderson, was brought back to the professorship of Greek at the same time. He had temporarily withdrawn from the faculty two years before and had spent part of the time in pursuing post graduate work at Johns Hopkins University under Professor Gildersleeve and in traveling abroad. Otto A. Hauerbach, Knox, '95, was appointed professor of English and Oratory. Winner of the Intercollegiate Oratorical Contest of

the Mississippi Valley, talented, musical, rarely social, he proved a valuable addition to the faculty. Allan B. Dow, a graduate of the Knox Conservatory of Music, was appointed Director of the Conservatory and Instructor of Piano.

The improvement of economic conditions and the brightening prospects of the institution brought an enlarged attendance in September, 1895, to greet the new and enlarged faculty. A lively interest developed in all aspects of college life and work went on vigorously throughout the year. The faculty acted together harmoniously and seemed actuated by an eager desire to advance the interests of the college. They met weekly and discussed intimate details of college life and organization. Attendance during the year climbed to a total of twelve college students and one hundred students in the Academy and Conservatory.

When these young men from the East joined the College faculty in the fall of 1895, the campus was small and unkempt. Wild rye-grass still grew around the wooden buildings and the making of a lawn had not been dreamed of. With characteristic spirit and the vigor of youth they began to improve the grounds by their own labor. They levelled first the rough ground in the front of the Ladies Hall (where now the Conservatory building stands) and with spade and hoe prepared it for seeding. They bought seed at their own expense, and planted it and watered it. The present extensive and beautiful lawns of the College campus and the present feeling which takes for granted that the grounds around the College buildings must be kept in sightly condition originated in the public spirit and generosity of these new members of the faculty, while the President was absent on the task of raising money.

The salary of a professor was \$1,000 which for several years was as much as the Trustees thought that the College could afford to pay. Nevertheless, there was hardly a single member of the faculty who did not refuse to accept offers to go elsewhere for a larger salary, preferring to stay with Whitman and help to build up the kind of institution in which they all believed. President Penrose during his first winter in the East was offered the pastorate of a large city church at a salary of \$7,000. A year seldom passed after that when he was not offered the presidency of one or more colleges or universities at two or three times the salary which he was receiving. The "Whitman Spirit" seemed to take possession of all who became connected with the College, and for a quarter of a century self-sacrifice and enthusiasm characterized their faithful and intelligent labors. The original impulse given by Cushing Eells had not been lost.

In an interview published in the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* on August

26, 1896, Mr. Penrose is quoted as saying:

I never was more confident of the future of the college than I am today. I have traveled nearly 40,000 miles in the interests of the college and have not been three weeks consecutively in any one place. Everywhere I find profound interest in the story of Marcus Whitman. I expect to see Dr. Pearson tomorrow. He has already invited my wife and me to spend the day with him in company with Dr. and Mrs. O. W. Nixon, Dr. and Mrs. E. F. Williams and Miss Dox.

This interview discloses the fact of his marriage and that he and his wife were on their way to Walla Walla. After a brief honeymoon they had devoted the summer to work for the college in the East.

When they reached Walla Walla, they were given a public reception which was characteristically described in the *Walla Walla Union* as follows:

Last evening at the magnificent and capacious rooms of the Walla Walla Club, fully five hundred citizens paid their respects to President and Mrs. S. B. L. Penrose, of Whitman College, cordially extending congratulations to Mr. Penrose and warmly greeting his accomplished bride. Loving and skillful hands had labored diligently all day yesterday to add embellishments to the already handsomely furnished apartments and the profusion of richly colored golden-rod, oleanders, palms, cut and potted plants that here and there were clustered and draped around the rooms received much attention. Assisting Mr. and Mrs. Penrose in receiving were the following, in the order named: Hon. Levi Ankeny, Mrs. J. F. Boyer, Rev. E. L. Smith, Mrs. D. S. Baker, Mrs. Thomas H. Brents, Hon. Thomas H. Brents, Mrs. F. L. Palmer, Rev. F. L. Palmer, Mrs. W. D. Lyman, Professor W. D. Lyman.

In a grotto of ferns and oleanders in the northwest corner of the rooms was seated the Fourth cavalry orchestra of six pieces, and during the evening the sweet strains of music enriched the general effect. Formality there was none, but friend greeted friend with a warmth of cordiality and not a moment was idly spent by any one during the evening. In couples and groups conversation was carried on and the merry peal of laughter ever and anon signified an ebullition of pleasure. It was fully 10:30 before the gathering dispersed. Every one delighted at the outcome of this, the first social function of the season.

Dr. Pearson showed great generosity towards the college by paying half of his promised \$50,000 as soon as \$75,000 had been secured and no one was more pleased than he when, in 1898, the total amount had been raised and he could pay the balance of his subscription. The interest of the great philanthropist in the College and the large amounts of money which had been secured in the East through the joint efforts of the Education Society, Miss Dox and the President, transformed the attitude of the community

towards the College. Heretofore they had regarded it with doubt tempered with hope; now people began to feel that the College was a going institution and that its future had been assured by the securing of adequate endowment.

Mr. Penrose now settled down to teach those courses of Philosophy in which his soul delighted, for he was always a teaching president rather than an administrator. He is listed in the college catalogue for 1896-97 as teaching required courses for juniors and for seniors as follows: psychology—both physiological and intuitionist—logic, theism, introduction to philosophy, esthetics and evidences of Christianity, involving twelve hours of class room work a week; and in addition giving a weekly lecture on Biblical Literature to all the students of the institution. At various times he also taught classes in classical geography, astronomy and business law. Chapel continued as a daily exercise which both faculty and students attended.

In order to provide a medium for reaching the public with important information about the College and also for the collection of valuable historical material he founded the Whitman College Quarterly, the first number of which appeared in January, 1897. It continued to supply these needs until June, 1900, and its files throw much interesting light on the activities of the college campus during this period. He edited it himself for three years in the midst of his other labors, and finding it too heavy a burden, ceased publishing it in June, 1900, concluding with an account of the dedication of the new buildings. After that it was continued in a different character, comprising the yearly catalogue and such occasional leaflets as the college might wish to issue. The founder and original editor continued to have supervision over the publication for the rest of his administration.

At the beginning of the year 1897 the College lost an honored member of its Board of Trustees, John F. Boyer. He had become a member of the Board of Trustees in the days of Whitman Seminary and had continued on the Board until his death. He was treasurer from 1882 to 1896, when he became president and continued therein until his death on February 8, 1897. Partner and brother-in-law of Dr. D. S. Baker, and co-founder with him of the Baker-Boyer Bank, he was trusted and highly esteemed by all who knew him and his connection with the College helped to give people confidence in its administration.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Whitman Massacre fell on November 29, 1897, and the significance of the event had long been felt. Several years earlier William H. Gray, who had come to Oregon with Dr. Whitman in 1836, had devoted himself to raising

a fund for the erection of a monument in honor of his great colleague and had secured about \$800. With this amount available an energetic effort had been made to raise additional funds, sufficient to build a suitable monument of granite and to put in proper condition the great grave, where Dr. and Mrs. Whitman and the other victims of the massacre lay buried. For many years after the massacre that grave had been neglected, a rough, low mound of earth hardly distinguishable from the surrounding wilderness of sage brush and sand. In 1883 the students of Whitman College had placed a little white, wooden picket fence around it, but it was still neglected and unkempt. Now, with the funds that had been raised, it was to be properly cared for.

On November 29 appropriate public exercises were held at the grave and in the town, addresses being made by several of the nine survivors of the massacre who were present, by Rev. L. H. Hallock, D.D., of Tacoma and by Rev. J. R. Wilson, D.D., the scholarly principal of Portland Academy. The monument of Vermont granite did not arrive in time for the anniversary and the concluding ceremonies had to be postponed. The Whitman College *Quarterly* for March, 1898, describes the final scene:

On Saturday afternoon, January 29th, the last act of the series by which the fiftieth anniversary of the Whitman Massacre was celebrated, took place at Waiilatpu. The granite monument had already been placed on the brow of the hill, overlooking the Whitman Mission, and the great tomb had been encased in marble. On that day, in the presence of a small company, the remains of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman and the others disinterred on October 22nd to allow for the building of the new tomb, were reinterred. A handsome metallic coffin had been presented for the occasion by Mrs. Picard, of Walla Walla. The bearers were Hon. Levi Ankeny, Hon. A. H. Reynolds, Professor O. A. Hauerbach, Professor W. A. Bratton, Mr. A. S. Legrow and President S. B. L. Penrose. A short burial service was conducted by Rev. E. L. Smith and Rev. E. N. Condit, pastors of the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches of Walla Walla. The massive slab of marble, weighing two tons, was then lowered into place, and the railing around the grave was secured. The names of the thirteen persons murdered in 1847 at Waiilatpu are carved on the polished marble. All has been done that can be done to mark the resting place of these heroes.

The rapid increase in attendance due to the new faculty, the wide-spread publicity which the College had received and the improvement of economic conditions made new buildings a necessity, and the President next turned his attention to this his third major problem. In the *Quarterly* for October, 1898, the following statement appears:

The growth of the College has made a new Recitation Hall and Young Men's Dormitory actual necessities. We are glad to announce that Dr. D. K. Pearsons of Chicago, who has heretofore shown a splendid generosity toward the college, has again come to its aid. In July last he voluntarily offered to the Board of Trustees to give \$50,000 for a Recitation Hall, to be known as "Whitman Memorial Building," upon the condition that they should secure \$25,000 for the needed Dormitory. This action of Dr. Pearsons at once lifts the cloud which has been resting on the College, and, although the condition has not as yet been met, light begins to break.

Mr. G. W. Babcock, a reliable architect of wide experience, has contributed a plan for the proposed Recitation Hall, and has offered to superintend its construction without cost. This plan has been approved by the Board of Trustees and by Dr. Pearsons. This building will contain ten recitation rooms, besides scientific laboratories, Library and Chapel. It will have offices for various college officials, and will be a useful administration building.

The immediate need of the College is to secure this building by securing the Dormitory, which is the condition of Dr. Pearsons's gift. Both buildings must be erected and ready for occupancy by the first of next September. The crisis in the affairs of the College has come.

The work of raising money for the boy's dormitory went on slowly with many discouragements, and had it not been for the enthusiasm of the faculty and the students, the downtown business men might have abandoned the undertaking. In this period of discouragement a thrilling event took place which was described in a local newspaper. It has ever since been known as Whitman's Red Letter Day.

Yesterday was a day that will not soon be forgotten by the faculty and students of Whitman College. It was a day full of stirring and dramatic incidents and marks a new era in the history of the College, both in its material growth and in the quickening and development of its inner life.

On Monday night the invitation came to the faculty to do what they could to help the committee which has been laboring so faithfully to meet the condition of Dr. Pearsons. The committee reported that \$3,000 was yet lacking. The faculty felt that here was an opportunity to show how absolutely essential to them and to the life of the institution is the securing of these new buildings this year. Whitman College may well be proud of her faculty. They are a body of men whom as a whole it would be hard to match in any College of Whitman's size. There is hardly a man among the number who has not refused offers from larger institutions at advanced salaries. They have stuck to their posts because they believed that here was the right nucleus for a great college. They are all doing double work and they are all working for small salaries, and yet, in spite of the fact that many of them have already given liberally, they announced yesterday morning that among their number had been raised

\$1,075. In the minds of the faculty the time for arguing about the matter of new buildings is gone. The students, it was thought should also have an opportunity to show how they felt. Accordingly, a member of the faculty suggested the matter to them yesterday morning after chapel. He said in substance:

"Dr. Pearsons and Dr. Nixon are getting a little nervous at the seeming slowness with which the citizens of Walla Walla are responding to this generous offer. The soliciting committee needs some encouragement and it lies in your power to help settle this question. A rare opportunity confronts you, an opportunity of building yourselves into the very walls of what will yet be known as the great college of the Northwest. You cannot, perhaps, do much but whatever you do will have tremendous influence in waking up our community to the fact that these buildings are needed and must be ready for us next year. Likewise when Dr. Pearsons hears that the boys and girls are willing to saw wood, hoe potatoes, whitewash fences, darn stockings and mend gloves for the sake of Whitman, he will begin to realize that he is not dealing with a thankless people who do not appreciate his gifts.

"Do you want these new buildings?"

"Yes! yes!" came with thundering zeal from boys and girls alike.

"Do you want to feel that each one of you has at least built one brick in the walls of these new buildings?"

"Yes!" thundered the pupils.

"Will you all be here at two o'clock to discuss among yourselves this matter?"

"Yes! yes! yes!" was the reply.

Mr. Ross Brattain was elected moderator. At the appointed time the chapel was filled with students, something shining in their eyes and faces showing that they meant business.

Mr. Brattain opened the meeting with a few well chosen words. He brought out the idea that this was not a scheme to get a double price on their parents. Whatever was given was to come from individual sacrifice and labor on the part of the students.

Worthington opened fire with an enthusiastic speech. Proctor, Lasater, Hauerbach and many others followed suit. The girls were not behind and many a ringing speech came from them.

"With the aid of some patching my old spring suit will do this year. I pledge myself for \$10," said one young man who knows what it is to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. It did not take many such speeches to arouse the body of students to a pitch of enthusiasm genuinely heroic.

A committee was appointed to see the students. In less than twenty minutes they reported \$763 (since raised to \$840 in individual and society pledges, with \$1,000 guaranteed) pledged by individuals and societies. All the students have not yet been seen but it is an assured fact that the final amount will reach \$1,000.

When we consider that there is probably a larger percentage of boys and girls working their way through Whitman than almost any other

college in our country; when we consider that some of the boys are living on two meals a day and undergoing every possible privation in order to get an education; when we consider that such students have been willing to do extra work and undergo extra privation in order to advance the College which they love, then we can form some conception of how deadly in earnest our boys and girls are and of what kind of stuff they are made.

The sum raised was above the wildest expectations of the faculty or students. Great as it was, however, it can in no way measure the real growth in character which must result from such an experience as that of yesterday. If the men and women of our community could have been present with the reporter and could have seen the earnest voices as they uttered words which came direct from the heart, it must indeed be a hard heart which would not have been moved and the purse strings must indeed be tightly bound which would not unloose at such an appeal as was that.

In the fall of 1899 the dormitory was completed and ready for occupancy. It was named Billings Hall in memory of Parmly and Ehrick, the two sons of Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Billings of New York City, Mrs. Billings having contributed \$5,000 towards the cost of the building. A new college life and spirit began at once with the use of this building as before the young men from out of town had been scattered about the community unable to get together effectively for the development of their common interests. Now Billings Hall became the center of the campus and a new spirit of fellowship and leadership began to be manifest among them.

The Whitman College *Quarterly* for October, 1899, gives a description of it which will interest the older alumni and reveal how different were its original uses from those of a later day:

This magnificent new dormitory, the first of the buildings which will make the new Whitman College, will be opened for occupancy about the time that the *Quarterly* is published. The building is a long and handsome structure of cream colored pressed brick, with grey stone trimmings. It faces the South, lying parallel with Boyer Avenue, and with the pretty little stream known as College Creek flowing immediately in front of it. Its position is commanding, as the ground on which it is situated is high, and it can be readily seen from upper Main Street. The view from the front tower is superb, showing the Blue Mountains to the southeast and the whole of the lovely Walla Walla Valley. The town embowered in trees lies southwest and west.

The general oversight of the building has been entrusted to Mrs. N. A. Jacobs, who will have special charge of the dining department. Her son, Mr. M. A. Kees, a student of the College, will act as steward and attend to the keeping of accounts and collection of all bills. A student committee

selected from the occupants of the dormitory will assist in the maintenance of good order

The students have taken great pride in the building and have watched its progress with deep interest. All who can will room in it at once, and the prospects are that another fall will see it completely filled. Good board will be furnished at cost, which, it is expected, will be not more than \$2.50 per week.

The building contains forty-eight bed rooms, besides parlor, dining room and kitchen. A spacious basement is under the building, where the furnace and kitchen are located and where when needed a large hall can be finished.

On entering the building through a massive stone porch, one sees first a marble slab, with this inscription:

BILLINGS HALL,
"A TRIBUTE FROM MANY FRIENDS
TO WHITMAN COLLEGE
AND A MEMORIAL TO
PARMLY AND EHRICK,
SONS OF FREDERICK BILLINGS."
1899

Of the generosity of that long time friend of the College to whom the building is chiefly due, we are forbidden to speak, but it is with deep gratitude that the Trustees and Faculty and students of Whitman College will enter the splendid hall made possible by that nameless generosity. The building is finished on the inside in natural wood, and the walls are left in the rough plaster, tinted a tan color in the halls and a cream tint in the rooms. Bath rooms and toilet rooms are on each floor and an elevator runs from the basement to the top of the building. A large steam heating plant has been installed, guaranteed to heat the building to seventy degrees when the mercury stands at twenty degrees below zero on the outside. Most of the rooms are furnished simply, but attractively, and contain inscriptions bearing the names of the donors who furnished them. About thirty rooms have been already furnished. Special gifts have been made for this purpose, as also for the furnishing of the dining room and kitchen. About \$3,000 is still needed to pay the last bills and to clear the dormitory free of debt.

The construction of the Whitman Memorial Building went more slowly and it was not until January, 1900, that the building was ready for use. At once with pride and joy the classes were transferred to the new building, the old building, constructed in 1883 under the administration of President Anderson, being thenceforth used at first for the Conservatory of Music and later for the Academy.

The same number of the Whitman College *Quarterly* describes the Whitman Memorial Building as follows:

The Whitman Memorial Building, as it grows daily toward completion, impresses the onlooker more and more with its dignity, grace and beauty. It is built of brick, of a warm cream color, trimmed with grey Tenino stone. The stone cutter has added greatly to the beauty and value of his work by the hand carving of all the key stones, a voluntary contribution on the part of Mr. Thomas Russell, owner of the Tenino stone quarry. The building is one hundred and seventy-two feet in length by seventy feet in breadth. In both front and rear is an arched entrance of massive stone work, which on the front rises into a tower over a hundred feet high, built of brick above the second story to give more of grace and lightness. The same effect is produced by the dormer windows in the third story which redeem the roof from an appearance of too great weight and solidity. There will be a clock in the tower, which, as it rises twice as high as the roof of the building itself and far over all surrounding buildings and trees, will be a landmark easily seen from all parts of the city and the country round about.

The scientific laboratories for physics, chemistry and biology occupied the basement and for the first time were provided with adequate equipment and room for development. The library was installed on the main floor at the west end of the building, where it remained until 1922. The building at first accommodated both College and Academy classes, but in 1909 the Academy, now called Pearson's Academy in honor of the College's great benefactor, was transferred to the old college building, where it remained until it was discontinued in 1912. What then seemed ample provision for offices, class rooms and chapel was provided. When, after the discontinuance of the Academy, Billings Hall ceased to be a dormitory and became a Science Building, the laboratories were transferred to it.

The Whitman Memorial Building was formally dedicated at Commencement, 1900, by Dr. O. W. Nixon of the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, representing his friend Dr. D. K. Pearson. The *Whitman Quarterly* gives his speech in full and from it the following extracts are worth preserving.

Dr. D. K. Pearson, with his far-seeing eyes always looking for wise investments, had some time before made you a notable offer of endowing the College with \$50,000 provided you raised in addition \$150,000. It was made in the terms of all his gifts, which recognized the necessity of co-operation for success. But it was a time of such general financial distress in every quarter of the land that by the terms of the gift it seemed hopeless to meet its demands. Some called the conditions hard, and openly prophesied that Dr. Pearson would never be called upon for his check. Many queried why did he not give the amount outright? In the light of your own experience you have the wise answer to the question. Dr. Pearson is not only among the most generous, but is the wisest of all the

great givers. Every gift he makes is based on business principles. No financier looks more carefully over the entire ground, before making an investment. He insists upon an endowment as the first thing so that poor students, as certainly as the rich, can acquire an education; that money put into great buildings and no endowment is money endangered. He insists in all cases, in all the many colleges he has aided, and the many he has saved from extinction, that a healthy and enthusiastic constituency must surround each one. He lays stress upon this, and by the terms of his giving he educates and induces others to give. Grand as are his benefactions, this educational work of inducing others to give is even greater, for it has not only added many millions to the gifts of deserving colleges, but has taught a grand lesson of unselfishness to the people. Hard as it seemed for the good people immediately about Whitman College to raise the \$150,000 endowment required of them, yet they did it, and made every giver richer in all that enters into the life and spirit of true manhood and virtuous womanhood.

When Dr. Nixon had concluded his masterly oration, he presented a letter written by Dr. D. K. Pearsons for the occasion and asked that it be read by Professor Hauerbach:

Dr. N. G. Blalock and Trustees of Whitman College:

Every College has, or ought to have, a spirit of its own. In the east we hear a great deal about the Yale spirit, the Harvard spirit, the spirit of "Old Dartmouth." This spirit cannot be defined, yet is very real, and means very much for the undergraduates as well as for the graduates of these institutions. There ought to be a Whitman spirit. Perhaps there is. No college in the country has such a history, or rests on more honorable foundations. It is the largest and best equipped college in the new Northwest. It is the child of home missionary forethought and self-sacrifice. For years its life was preserved only by faith and prayer and the gifts of Father Eells. It bears the name of one of our nation's heroes. No single military campaign has added more valuable territory to the United States than Marcus Whitman's ride to Washington. The man who risked life and reputation to make that ride was a Christian patriot of the first rank. Christian patriotism ought to be characteristic of those who study in a college which bears his name. Its spirit should also be a spirit of foresight, of heroic endurance, of Christian faith and Christian service. The founders of Whitman College lived for others not for themselves, they could not die till, through the Church, the school, and the college, they had provided the blessings of Christian civilization for the millions who in the future would settle in these fertile regions. Recent gifts and endowments have come from the interior, from the middle states and from New England, not only because it has the missionary spirit, the spirit of true Christian patriotism and self-obliteration behind it. It is to emphasize and perpetuate this spirit that money has been given for the Administration building and for endowment. It is with a confidence which the history of the college and its recent rapid growth unite in producing,

that so many people living so far from each other have been willing to contribute to its funds. Its spirit has attracted them. They believe that this spirit will live in its students, that it will prove to be the most intelligent, the most American, the most prophetic, the noblest, the most manly, and the most Christian to be met with among any body of students in our country.

Truly,
D. K. PEARSONS

The *Quarterly* from time to time gives interesting information about some of the members of the faculty:

Some changes in the home arrangements of the Faculty are to be noted. President Penrose is now living in the Green house, purchased by the College last Commencement. The place has been greatly improved externally and internally. The adjoining place, also purchased at Commencement, is occupied by Professor Brown, who finds time from his Physics and Chemistry to keep the beautiful lawn in order and look after the garden. Professor Lyman, after spending his vacation in housebuilding, is now living in great comfort under his own roof-tree at the upper end of Boyer Avenue. Professors Hauerbach, Bratton and Cooper have taken rooms in Billings Hall and are enjoying their bachelor life together.

In addition to Professor J. W. Cooper who had recently joined the faculty, the *Quarterly* refers to the new professor of biology, Professor H. S. Brode, in two separate items.

1899. Dr. H. S. Brode has by this time shown himself to be a valuable acquisition to the Faculty. He has taken hold of the biological department with great vigor and is developing much interest among the students in collecting specimens for the Museum. A number of new microscopes have been ordered for class use, and a fine microtome. Heretofore little histological work has been possible, but with the increased facilities of the new laboratory and under the inspiring leadership of Professor Brode, advanced work of a high character will be done. We extend a welcome also to Mrs. Brode and to the two sturdy boys who constitute the family. Dr. Brode is an active member of the Methodist Church, and an experienced Sunday School worker. Their home is at 110 Baker Street.

1900. The Commencement exercises, notable in so many ways, were rendered especially notable by the birth of three fine boys to Professor and Mrs. H. S. Brode. The Brode triplets became at once the subject of conversation throughout the College and the town and were frequently referred to at the Commencement dinner. Dr. Brode now has a family of five sturdy boys.

The outbreak of the war with Spain had its effect in stimulating military enthusiasm among the young men of the College. The immediate consequence was the establishment of military drill under the circumstances described in the *Quarterly* for December, 1898.

Through the kindness of Lieutenant J. N. Munro of the Fourth Cavalry, U. S. A., stationed at Fort Walla Walla, it has been possible to put into effect a long desired plan for the establishment of military drill. At present drill is given twice a week by Lieutenant Munro, and all male students not disqualified by physical disability are required to take it. It is hoped that it may become a regular feature of College life, and that the Whitman uniform may be recognized throughout the Northwest. The thanks of the Board of Trustees and Faculty are due to Lieutenant Munro for his generous services.

The number of Whitman students who volunteered and the part they played in war on the other side of the Pacific are indicated by the following article found in the *Quarterly* for October, 1899.

On the desk of the writer is a handsome bell about nine inches high, which is a trophy of the war in the Philippines and of the loyalty of the Whitman College students to their Alma Mater. It was captured from a Philippine fortification in the battle of Pasig, March 17th, 1899, and bears the following inscription:

PRESENTED TO
YOUNG MEN'S DORMITORY
OF
WHITMAN COLLEGE,
BY
WHITMAN STUDENTS WHO SERVED
IN THE FIRST WASHINGTON INFANTRY, U. S. V.,
DURING THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR
AND
PHILIPPINE INSURRECTION

This bell is many hundreds of years old, and had once been used as a church bell, but at the time of the capture the building had been taken by the Philippinos and was being used as a fort against our troops.

On the reverse side of the bell appears the following list of names:

WHITMAN REPRESENTATIVES IN THE WAR

Capt. Wm. Van Patten	Corp. F. C. Howard
Capt. J. E. Boyer	Corp. Miles Kyger (Died Feb. 3, 1899.)
Lieut. J. E. Ballaine	Corp. Wm. Miller
Lieut. Allen Smith	Corp. M. H. Broughton
Chaplain A. L. Knudson	Corp. Nesmith Ankeny
Sergt. E. R. Collins	Corp. E. W. Strain (Killed Apr. 27, 1899)
Sergt. W. F. Crowe	Pvt. Andrew Amos

Sergt. Neill McDougall	Pvt. Albert Burrows
Sergt. Chris. Kauffman	Pvt. Kenneth McDouall
Corp. C. S. Painter	Pvt. Roy Painter
Corp. V. A. Walker	Pvt. Edw. Truax
Pvt. Geo. P. Anderson	Pvt. Roy E. Fletcher (Died Jan. 28, 1899)
Pvt. Morton Ingram	

Of the living, Private George P. Anderson, '86, has since been appointed by General Otis as Superintendent of Public Instruction in Manila, and is doing effective work; Lieut. Allen Smith has entered the regular army as lieutenant of the Thirty-fifth Infantry; Chaplain Knudson and Private McDouall have returned to College; the rest have taken up their duties as private citizens, after a noble record of valorous service. No regiment served more gallantly than the First Washington, and none of its soldiers showed more endurance or bravery than these. Whitman College had more representatives in the regiment than any other institution in the State.

The development of the college during the first years of Mr. Penrose's administration attracted wide attention and he began to receive overtures from other institutions to leave Whitman and become their president. Whenever he could prevent it he did not allow any institution to go so far as actually to invite him to become its president and he never was tempted to do so but once, for he felt that the work at Whitman was not in shape to be left and as he said, "It is more fun to make a college than to take one already made." The rumor, however, had reached Walla Walla that he was considering a call to go elsewhere and when he and Mrs. Penrose, with their two children, arrived home in the fall of 1901 after spending a summer in the East, the students of the College met them at the train and drew them in an open carriage, from which the horses had been taken, up Main Street to their home. A few days later a public reception was given in their honor at the college chapel. A local paper gives a flowery account of the demonstration.

Over six hundred people gathered in Memorial Hall Wednesday, making one of the most elaborate social events that Walla Walla has ever witnessed. As one glanced over the great concourse of well dressed, intelligent and refined looking people, he could not restrain a thrill of pride in the thought that our beloved little city is fast becoming a center of real refinement and genuine culture.

The college chapel had been transformed into a veritable fairyland. A broad border of blue and gold, encircled the room. The college colors were gracefully draped in large festoons diagonally from corner to corner. The stage was a mass of flowers and everywhere there was a profusion of potted plants, ferns and palms.

As friend greeted friend, above the bright laughter of knots of charming groups of girl students and circles of pretty women, there arose beautiful strains from W. Buffum's celebrated orchestra.

In response to an address of welcome by the Rev. Lee A. Johnson, pastor of the Methodist church, Mr. Penrose said in part: "We have been asked why we came back. We need not have done so, but we came back because we wanted to, and we wanted to because we believed that a college is needed here."

A college is needed here, first geographically. This is the strategic point of the Inland Empire. Walla Walla is central to southern Idaho, eastern Oregon and eastern Washington. By its position, its healthfulness and its climate, it is adapted admirably for a college, and in time students will come to us from the moist air of Puget Sound and the Willamette Valley for the benefit of this clear, dry, healthful air and the quality of education which Whitman College gives.

A college is needed here also educationally. There is a necessary place in the American Educational System for the private college. Do not think that state institutions are all that is necessary. Private colleges, founded and endowed by private beneficence, will always stand, because they are non-political and because they are free. They are not endangered by the perturbation of politics, nor effected by partisan rancor. And they are free, with that academic freedom of teaching and thought which is not always possible in an institution liable to be influenced by political changes.

Moreover, the private college can give its students the best in life and ideals, where often the state institution cannot. The latter can teach every literature save one, and that one is recognized by the world as the highest. The college is Christian, but non-sectarian. It is time to give up this misconception and all the old pettiness of feeling and realize that Whitman is the college of the whole community, of Walla Walla, of Washington and of the northwest. But the college must go ahead. It must have new buildings at once, a girl's dormitory, a men's gymnasium, and a science hall.

Whitman is in her forty-sixth year only, and yet Whitman today has more students, better buildings, and a larger faculty than Yale had after a hundred years. In 1959, we shall celebrate our centennial. I invite you all to be present at that time and to see how the college has grown since tonight.

The newspaper concluded its account of the evening with the words,

We cannot but feel that the cordial reception in honor of this heroic man augurs well for a new burst of growth in the institution which we are really beginning to appreciate and love.

The call for a girl's dormitory met a popular response. Dr. Pearson offered to give \$50,000 more for endowment on condition that funds be raised for a girl's dormitory. More than \$20,000

was promptly given and the building finished in the following September. Mr. and Mrs. Levi Ankeny of Walla Walla gave \$5,000 of the amount and Rev. and Mrs. Edward Lincoln Smith, now of Seattle, gave \$5,000 on condition that the building should be named Reynolds Hall in honor of Mrs. L. J. Reynolds of Walla Walla, a devoted friend of the college, who, as a little girl, had crossed the plains in the great wagon train of 1843 in company with Dr. Marcus Whitman. Mr. N. F. Butler of Walla Walla generously gave his services in superintending the construction of the building as he had done three years before for the Whitman Memorial Building.

The question of a permanent site, which had so greatly troubled President Anderson and President Eaton, and which had been temporarily settled in the dark summer of 1894 by the decision to stay where the college was, was finally settled in 1898, when Dr. Pearson offered to give \$50,000 for a recitation building. The Trustees then purchased from the executors of the D. S. Baker estate a strip of land five acres in extent on the opposite side of Boyer Avenue from the old campus and the new buildings were erected upon this land. In 1899 the Green and Roland Smith properties were bought and Reynolds Hall, the girl's dormitory, was erected later upon this land. The town had not yet extended this far and great surprise was expressed that the girl's dormitory should be erected in a field on a dusty country road with only vacant land beyond it.

In 1900 Mrs. D. S. Baker, who had been living since her husband's death in the old Baker homestead which was now surrounded by college property, sold her home and grounds to the college which thus at last came into possession of the home of its first benefactor. It was not until seventeen years later that the campus was completed by the purchase of two acres of land on its east front from the H. P. Isaacs estate on which the president's home and Lyman House were later erected. Thus was secured a compact and a well-located site, only half a mile from the center of the town. Since then the residential district has developed far beyond it and the value of the campus has greatly increased. An athletic field of eighteen acres was acquired by purchase in 1925, adjacent to the public stadium, providing ample facilities for all kinds of outdoor sports. It was named Ankeny Field in honor of the generous benefactor of the College, Senator Levi Ankeny.

The close of the first decade of the new administration found the College in a greatly improved condition with an enlarged campus, three new buildings, an endowment of \$236,315, a student enrollment of 78 in the college, 355 in the entire institution

and a faculty made up of men and women whose character, scholarship and unusual teaching ability would have been a credit to any college in the land. To Professor W. D. Lyman, Professor Helen A. Pepoon and Professor L. F. Anderson of the old faculty had been permanently added Professor W. A. Bratton for Mathematics and Astronomy, Professor B. H. Brown for Physics and Chemistry, Professor H. S. Brode for Biology, Professor J. W. Cooper for French and German, Professor E. E. Ruby for Latin and Edith B. Merrell (Mrs. W. R. Davis) for Greek, Latin and Oratory. Professor O. A. Hauerbach had been given a year's leave of absence for post-graduate study, his place being taken by A. W. Hendrick as acting professor of English and principal of Whitman Academy. Various additional instructors in the College, Academy and Conservatory of Music had been employed but none remained for a long period.



CHAPTER IX

GROWTH AND UNREST

The second decade from 1904 to 1914 was characterized by the appearance of a new personality on the campus, Professor A. W. Hendrick, and by his plan for the enlargement of the institution under the title of the Greater Whitman. How much he contributed to the permanent welfare of the institution is still a matter for discussion; but there is no doubt that he made a profound impression upon it and that he succeeded in bringing to its support many of the leading men in the Pacific Northwest.

Archer Wilmot Hendrick was a Canadian, a graduate of the University of Toronto, who had successfully taught in a high school in the Province of Ontario. He was a man of engaging personality, ingratiating manners and a smiling, humorous face which gave the impression of reserved strength and wisdom. He possessed unusual mental ability, an active imagination and remarkable powers of persuasion. In him a Celtic element united with an Anglo-Saxon to give a distinctive quality to his undoubted powers of leadership. He was invited by the Trustees in 1903 to become principal of Whitman Academy and also acting professor of English in the college during Professor Hauerbach's year's leave of absence. But at the end of the year, Professor Hendrick had made so deep an impression upon the trustees and the faculty by his skill as a teacher and in handling the students, that he was asked to continue permanently in Professor Hauerbach's place with the

title of Professor of English and Principal of Whitman Academy.

Professor Hendrick first showed his magnetic power of leadership by inspiring the students, the faculty and the townspeople with the desire for a men's gymnasium. The little old wooden building which had been constructed by the students in 1892 was still in use, though supplemented by the old chapel for basketball practice, that game having risen on the athletic horizon. There was real need for a larger and better gymnasium in which both men and women could obtain proper physical exercise indoors when the weather prevented outdoor exercise. A second "Red Letter Day" occurred at which Professor Hendrick eloquently presented the need for a gymnasium to the students and faculty and speedily secured subscriptions to a generous amount. With this as a beginning he next appealed to the business men of the community and soon succeeded in raising a total of \$22,000. Construction began immediately, and the 1905 College Catalogue thus describes the building:

The gymnasium is a large and substantial three story building of brick, 114 feet long by 62 feet deep. On the first floor are separate bathrooms and dressing rooms for men and women, a bowling alley and cage for basketball practice, and a fine swimming tank, 52 feet long by 26 feet wide, ranging in depth from 3 ft. 6 inches to 8 ft. On the second floor are the director's room, trophy and reception rooms, and the main hall for exercise, 90 feet long and 60 feet wide. The third story is given up to the gallery.

About this time Mr. John C. Olmstead, the distinguished landscape architect of Boston, was asked by the Trustees to make a careful study of the campus with regard to the location of future buildings and the beautifying of the grounds. On December 11, 1906, he submitted a formal report, which was printed for distribution and which formed the basis for all future developments of the College. His suggestions for the landscaping of the campus were judicious and timely. He recommended the removal of the athletic field from the campus by the purchase of additional land approximately twenty acres in extent, but this recommendation was not put into effect until twenty years later. He recommended that Whitman Academy be separated from the College by placing it on the south side of Boyer Avenue and that a Conservatory of Music building be erected on the corner of the campus nearest to the town, where four years later it was actually built. The use of vines and shrubbery to adorn the college buildings was strongly urged and was immediately begun. Most of his recommendations were carried into effect, but some still remain to guide the future development of the college.

Professor Hendrick's active mind and restless imagination could not be content with ordinary activities and while privately carrying on a reading course in law, he began to plan for greater things. A small college of the New England type could not content him and he dreamed of enlarging the institution on a grand scale. By 1906 he began to talk of The Greater Whitman, and he sketched in bold outline a different sort of an institution which in a pamphlet, "Old Oregon and Whitman College," he described, in part, as follows:

The great business men and progressive spirits of the Pacific Northwest, conscious of the necessity of taking up in a statesman-like way the development of this country, have felt that organization is necessary among them; that education must accompany that organization; and that a definite policy must be adopted in order that this country may be able to conserve and scientifically develop its great natural resources. The men of this territory realize that vast portions of its natural wealth are owned and are being developed by the great moneyed interests of America. It has been said that practically three-fourths of the natural resources of these three states are now in the possession of men of wealth who live in the East. This is not regarded as unfortunate by the men here, for they are conscious of the foresight and daring of those captains of industry who, through their investments in the transportation lines and in the various development projects of this country, have done much to bring to the notice of men its incalculable wealth.

The men of the Northwest have felt that if a plan could be adopted whereby the development of this great country could be more systematically brought about, they might expect the co-operation of all those, wherever located, who are interested in this country's welfare. They have therefore organized themselves with the purpose of establishing within this territory a great private educational institution with the definite purpose of giving an education along those lines which are necessary to conserve and scientifically develop the natural wealth of this region. They realize that educational institutions may have one of two great purposes: the one (which is usually associated with the state universities), being to give an equal opportunity to the sons and daughters of all men and all classes; the other, to give an education useful, primarily, to the economic and scientific needs of the country; in other words, in which the training offered will give to the students that outlook upon life which will train them to believe that the gifts of today are theirs to be used in the interests of future generations. Such an educational institution as the latter it is the object of these men to establish.

1. They believe that the institution which they seek to establish should possess a location central to the whole territory.

2. They believe that the institution should be Christian but non-sectarian, in order that men of all faiths may feel an interest in its work, and that the youth of the land may be trained in an atmosphere which is pronounced in its reverence for things divine.

3. They feel that this institution should in its control be representative of the three states, and therefore, that its Board of Overseers should comprise the representative citizens of these three states.

4. They believe that it is better for the youth of the Pacific Northwest to be trained in the Pacific Northwest, and that that training should have as high standards as can be had in the great universities of New England. They deplore the fact that now some four hundred of the youth of these three states are compelled to travel to the far East to receive an education of this standard.

Consequently they have selected Whitman College, at Walla Walla, as the institution which should be enlarged to undertake this work, because they believe that by its history and location it is suited to become the representative institution of this territory.

The Overseers of Whitman College, in assuming control of its educational and financial policy, desire to make of this institution one which will be intimately related to the educational needs of the country itself. They desire to enlarge its curriculum and to establish in connection therewith courses of study which will fit the youth of this territory to assist in the scientific development and conservation of its natural wealth. At the same time they desire to lay emphasis upon a thorough cultural education going hand in hand with scientific training in what we commonly call the engineering sciences.

The statement was ingenious and plausible, although it stated as an accomplished fact what it was the intention of the writer to bring about—the union of the representative men of the Northwest for the creation of the projected educational institution.

Professor Hendrick further contemplated the eventual establishment of departments of civil, mechanical, electrical, hydraulic and mining engineering, a school of forestry and irrigation, a school of commerce and a school of art.

The Trustees were fascinated by Professor Hendrick and his bold plan for transforming Whitman College into something new and greater. Although they had no expert knowledge as to the need for or feasibility of his grandiose project, their imaginations were stirred by it, and in December, 1907, they enthusiastically endorsed it and appointed him dean. Some of them wished to elect him as president of the College and to let President Penrose go, but it was decided that this would not be advisable. They offered Dean Hendrick, however, a salary of \$5,000 to undertake the work, but he declined this on the ground that the salary of the president was only \$3,500 and that it would not be seemly for him to receive a larger salary. He proposed that he should be given the same salary as the president but with an unlimited expense account concerning the spending of which he should not be required to give any report. This was agreed to and he immediately began his work as dean.

But before the College could function as an interstate, inter-denominational institution, which might obtain the support of the people of all faiths, it was necessary to effect an understanding with the Congregational Education Society and, if possible, obtain a release from the agreement which the trustees of the College had entered into with the American College and Education Society in 1883. They had then agreed that a majority of the trustees should be members of Evangelical Congregational Churches and, that if at any time this should not be the case, the College should be liable for all the moneys which it should have received from the Society. When the new plan to secure a wider constituency for the College, without changing its essentially religious character was presented to Rev. W. R. Campbell, the President of the Congregational Education Society in Boston, he and the directors generously released the College from its contract. All possible claims against the property of the College were waived, and it was left free to pursue its proposed course and appeal to the public of the Pacific Northwest without regard to denominational connection.

The service of the Congregational Education Society, successor to the American College and Education Society, had been genuine and long continued. From 1883 to 1897 it had either made direct grants to the college or had given its permission to agents of the college to appeal for funds to the people of New England and it had endorsed the institution as deserving their confidence. In 1897, \$25,000 had been raised by its agent in New England for the Cushing Eells professorship of philosophy.

Whitman College may still be called a Congregational institution in the sense that the many colleges which Congregationalists have founded may be so described. It was founded by Congregationalists and maintained largely by the gifts of Congregationalists. But Congregationalists have seldom thought to tie their institutions legally to the denomination, believing in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and therefore being willing to trust to the Spirit the future guidance of their institutions. With equal truth, therefore, it may also be called a non-sectarian college.

When the College had thus been set free from the possible charge of sectarianism and could appeal without hindrance to a wider constituency, a second step was taken to further the new plan for the Greater Whitman by organizing a board of Overseers, to be composed of the leading men and women of the Pacific Northwest regardless of their denominational connection. The problem was a delicate one for the charter entrusted the management of the institution to a Board of nine Trustees and it was a question how

the trustees could delegate their powers to a larger board without surrendering their legal rights or invalidating the charter. That the College needed a larger board than nine trustees, necessarily local, had been demonstrated by the experience of the past twenty-five years. The experiment of an Advisory Board had been tried for several years but had not proved successful because those appointed to such offices felt that they had no real responsibility for the conduct of the college. President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard, in his admirable book, "University Administration" had suggested a bicameral form of organization such as was actually adopted under the new plan. He said:

When a board of trustees is large and the residences of its members are scattered over a wide area, the meetings of the board are sure to be infrequent, and its business has to be delegated to an executive or prudential committee. The board itself then becomes a sort of confirming or consenting board, and in some cases a court of appeal, its real work from week to week being done by a small committee which can easily come together for consultation and action.

Following this suggestion a Board of Overseers consisting of sixty-four persons was organized of whom the Trustees were ex-officio members, and a Constitution adopted defining their duties and powers and making clear their relations to the Board of Trustees. Practically the Board of Trustees now became the Executive Committee of the Board of Overseers, meeting each month and reporting their actions to the Overseers. At first the Board of Overseers was to meet semi-annually but it was soon found preferable to hold an annual meeting only, except in cases of emergency. To the Board of Overseers the annual reports of the officers of the College were presented, while under the head of new business they were free to introduce such measures as seemed to them wise. The Trustees agreed to abide by the decisions of the Overseers and in order to conform to the provisions of the charter it was further agreed that the actions of the Board of Overseers should be formally validated by the Board of Trustees.

Thus the College brought to its support a large body of representative men from the three states of Oregon, Washington and Idaho, and greatly increased its prestige. There were those who did not understand the character or the purpose of the new organization and for several years criticism of it was made as unnecessary and useless, but it soon justified its utility by gathering to the annual meeting a large number of able men who took keen interest in the affairs of the College.

The whole plan for the Greater Whitman was inaugurated on November 17, 1908, at the first meeting of the Board of Overseers held in Walla Walla. In connection therewith an Educational Congress was held which was addressed by President Cyrus Northrop, of the University of Minnesota, Dean Alfred E. Burton, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., Secretary of the Corporation of Yale University, and Dr. D. K. Pearsons, of Chicago, each of whom gave the plan his hearty endorsement. A large and representative audience gathered for the occasion and the three days program culminated with a banquet in the gymnasium.

The third step in Dean Hendrick's plan involved the securing of adequate funds for its development and to this he now devoted himself with energy and enthusiasm. He undertook to raise \$2,000,000, of which \$600,000 was to be used for buildings and the remainder for endowment. He soon secured subscriptions aggregating over \$500,000 in amounts ranging from \$1,000 to \$50,000, and if he had continued to devote himself to the raising of funds, he might have succeeded in his undertaking. But, after devoting nearly a year to this solicitation of funds, his attention was diverted to a scheme for securing a new campus for the college on which his new buildings might be placed. It was suggested to him that it might be possible to secure from Congress the grant or sale of the abandoned military reservation adjacent to the town of Walla Walla. Immediately he took hold of the scheme with his customary ardor and, abandoning the financial campaign, transferred his activities to Washington, the nation's capitol. For the next two years he gave himself to political activities, endeavoring to secure sufficient support in Congress to guarantee the passing of his bill. It passed the Senate and only lacked final action by the House to become law; but, as the session of Congress drew to its close, the calendar became crowded and members of the House became frantic to secure the passage of their own legislation. Opposition to the bill, originating in Walla Walla, had been aroused, but this had been overcome. On the last day of the session Speaker Cannon had agreed to recognize a member of the House who would bring up the Whitman College bill. Excitement was high, contenders for the privilege of the floor were many, and, for unexplained reasons, the member designated did not catch the Speaker's eye and bring up the bill for action. When twelve o'clock arrived Congress adjourned, sine die, and the last chance for securing the passage of the bill had been lost.

The disappointment was too much for Dean Hendrick's hitherto indomitable optimism and, instead of returning to the finan-

cial campaign, which he had temporarily abandoned, he seemed to have lost heart for his plans and began to devote himself to other projects through some of the powerful men whom he had hitherto met. By this time many persons who had been originally enthusiastic for the Greater Whitman had begun to question its practicality and advisability and the Trustees themselves became less certain of the outcome. After a few months Dean Hendrick resigned to enter private business. He later became vice-president of the Bank of Italy, in San Francisco.

The College Catalogue for the following year mentions an engineering group with the eminent engineer, Wayne Darlington, as its dean, but the latter never exercised the functions of the office and the group existed only on paper. One new instructor was actually added to the faculty, Glenn B. Dunmore, Professor of Drawing. For a few years the College Catalogues refer to the plan of the Greater Whitman but by 1914 the engineering group had disappeared and only the professor of drawing remained, listed under the group of mathematics and the natural sciences.

The real contribution of the Greater Whitman plan to the development of the college was the organization of the Board of Overseers, a permanent contribution of great importance. It enlarged the constituency of the college and made many new friends for it. Moreover, when presently it became necessary to gather up the broken fragments and to relieve the college from the heavy debt which had accumulated during the years of Dean Hendrick's campaign, many of the subscriptions which had been secured by him were paid by the subscribers, although it was not proposed to carry out the scheme to which they had originally subscribed. In the financial campaign which presently followed these subscriptions were an invaluable aid.

In the summer of 1909 Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, visited the College to study it carefully. He conferred at length with the President, the Trustees and members of the Faculty, and a few days after his visit, on August 4, wrote to Mr. Penrose carefully analyzing the work of the institution and suggesting alternative courses for future development.

1. All the colleges in Washington and Oregon, with the exception of the two state universities, consist of small college classes mingled with larger bodies of preparatory and special students. Whitman College is no exception to this custom. Your student body consists of about 350 students (using the last catalogue available), of whom about a third are college students; somewhat less than one third are secondary school pupils; and

somewhat more than a third are pupils in the school of music, who are admitted practically without academic tests. These three classes of students mingle freely in the class rooms and in the dormitories. One of the inducements suggested in the catalogue to music students is the opportunity for entering college classes and associating with college students.

2. This situation is the result of an effort to serve local needs, not the outcome of an effort to build distinctively a college. The special function of a college and its distinguishing mark is to bring together students of approximately the same age and the same intellectual training, who may form a homogeneous group of students and whose associations may therefore react one upon the other in a helpful way. So soon as one undertakes the building of an educational institution whose student body consists of such diverse elements as those to which I have referred, one gives up the distinguishing thing for which the college itself stands.

3. It would seem to me that the first question for those in charge of Whitman College to settle is whether the present form of institution is not, on the whole, the most useful for the region and for the community. In other words, is it not better to remain a local institution, serving a varied number of needs and appealing to different groups of students than to undertake to offer the advantages of a well-defined college to a wider area. Your institution will need to choose between the two. It is impossible to create or to maintain a college atmosphere in a student body composed of incongruous elements. There is no particular reason why a student from a distance should come to such a college, for he cannot hope to find in it the life and the atmosphere of a real college, however admirable it may suit the needs of a growing community. It may well be that a complex institution consisting of the college, the secondary school and the music school, serving pre-eminently local needs, would, as the population grew, eventually grow into a good local college.

4. If, however, you have decided that the plan for a Greater Whitman is to mean a college which can appeal to students from the three states in which you are interested, this can be done only by making your student body a true college group. It may well be that a secondary school has been heretofore a necessary part of your plan, and out of the secondary school has grown the college. I do not believe that you can ever make Whitman distinctive from the other colleges of your region so long as your secondary school is continued, certainly not so long as it is on the campus and in immediate contact with it, nor can you make the college appeal to college students so long as they are to mingle with unclassified students who come to take a course in music. How many young men would be willing to go to Yale College, if Yale University maintained a secondary school and a music school whose pupils were intimately associated with the students? Students go to college for the very reason that they find there a group of youth fairly homogeneous from the standpoint of age and intellectual equipment. It seems to me, therefore, clear that you must choose between a true college aiming to serve a large body and to bring students from a distance, which it does not now do to any great extent, and a composite institution such as you now have, designed primarily to

serve local needs and wishes. Which of these objects is the more desirable one in the present status of education you must judge, but you cannot do both. It would mean to cut down your numbers to perhaps not more than 125 students. I have not yet found a group of college officers or trustees who were ready to seek college efficiency by this path, and yet I doubt if there is any other way to make a good college in your region. Such an institution, even if limited in numbers, would at least be a true college, something which the institution can never be so long as it remains an amalgamation of college, secondary school, and music school. If you are to have a Greater Whitman, I think you must choose between these two general policies.

The effect of President Pritchett's clear analysis of the educational situation was immediate and profound. The development of high schools in the northwest had been so rapid during the preceding twenty years that no one had realized its full significance. Prompt action was taken to put his suggestions into effect, and the next issue of the College Catalogue omitted all reference either to the Academy or to the Conservatory of Music. It was, however, not until 1912 that the Academy was actually discontinued, although thereafter it occupied a separate building on the old campus and had its own catalogue until its affairs could be wound up.

Whitman College was thus the first college in the Pacific Northwest to discontinue a preparatory department and to identify itself completely with college work. Academy teachers were no longer listed as members of the college faculty. The Conservatory of Music likewise was omitted from the College Catalogue being henceforth regarded as an affiliated institution beneficial to the College in its artistic impulse and benefited by its close relationship to the College, but not administered by the college faculty nor under its discipline except for out-of-town students living in college dormitories and taking college work as well. Four years later, when these changes had been made and the College was in successful operation with an attendance of 240 college students, Dr. Pritchett wrote in a private letter in 1913, "Whitman College seems to me now the most promising institution in all that part of the country."

In a further paragraph of Dr. Pritchett's letter, he presented three possible alternatives for the college to choose in the determination of its destiny. His analysis helped to clarify the situation at least in the mind of Mr. Penrose.

5. In case the college found it possible and desirable to undertake so definite a policy as this, looking toward the building up of a true college in the eastern part of Washington, there will still remain the question,

what type of college you ought to try to build. At present, there are practically three such types: (1) the old classical college with strong courses in the humanities and mathematics; (2) a similar college with strong courses in the humanities and mathematics, but with well equipped laboratories in chemistry and physics and biology, giving the foundations for professional life in engineering, medicine and similar professions; (3) a college which, in addition to the humanities and fundamental sciences, adds a school of technology which aims to prepare men for the actual practice of the engineering professions. Here again the choice is one which depends on the needs of the large region which you wish to serve and also on the means which are to be available for developing the courses of instruction. A strong college teaching a reasonable number of things is a far more desirable institution than a college using the same income to teach in a superficial way many things. Whichever of these types of college you may elect to follow, I hope you will not lose sight of the fact that thoroughness in the things the college offers is both educationally and from the standpoint of citizenship far more to be preferred than the desire to offer many things imperfectly.

You have also great encouragement in the unusual interest of these high-minded and able business men in these large and growing states. At the same time it is to be remembered that these men are not educational experts, and for a right educational policy they must depend entirely on the officers and the faculty of the college. Their chief function is that of advice and friendly criticism, and above all hearty financial support, but none of these things count for as much as the clear thinking out and adoption of a true educational policy.

The President at once dismissed the first alternative, that of an old time classical college, as insufficient for the real needs of the region. Between Dr. Pritchett's second and third alternatives, he, himself, did not hesitate to choose the second, that of a liberal College of Arts and Pure Sciences, partly, perhaps, because of his own training and perhaps because he doubted the wisdom of adding to the college an engineering school which would overshadow it. The trustees, however, had adopted the third alternative whole-heartedly and with enthusiasm, and for the time being it had been necessary to acquiesce in their decision. He therefore had given himself zealously to co-operating with Dean Hendrick in his project.

A handsome fireproof building of brick and concrete for the Conservatory of Music was constructed in 1910 at a cost of \$50,000 from funds contributed by Dr. D. K. Pearson. It was located on the original site of Whitman Seminary as recommended by Mr. Olmstead, and, by its ample facilities for teaching and practice, greatly stimulated the growth of the Conservatory. Music now played a larger part in the life of the institution, being dignified by its new home. The basement contained class rooms, a room for

ensemble work, and a room for piano tuning, equipped with an elevator. The main floor was occupied by the teachers' studios, a large lobby, the administration offices and the reception room. A small concert hall, seating about two hundred and fifty persons, was named in honor of the American composer, Edward MacDowell. The second and third floors were devoted to practice rooms for music students.

When the bold project for a Greater Whitman had ended in failure and the Trustees began to recover from their illusion, it was found that the college had become deeply involved in debt and that no aid could be expected from the great educational foundations so long as it was thus encumbered. In the spring of 1912 a heroic effort was made by a local committee, consisting of W. W. Baker, John W. Langdon, Oscar Drumheller, J. C. Scott, H. H. Turner, J. M. Crawford, George Kellough, John Ankeny and Rev. R. C. Brooks with Rev. R. C. Brooks Chairman of the Board and Dorsey M. Hill as the Secretary, to set the institution free from debt. Fear was expressed that the college might be removed to some other place, a definite invitation having been received to that effect, and by this time the people of Walla Walla had begun to realize its value to them. A total of \$213,146.30 was raised locally, an eloquent testimonial to the esteem with which the College was regarded. In this campaign the people of the Congregational church under the leadership of their pastor, Rev. Raymond C. Brooks, voted to defer the building of their long desired church and to turn over to the College the subscriptions which had already been secured. Sixty-thousand dollars was contributed from this source, a demonstration of the deep interest which the members of the Congregational Church still felt in the College, even though it had been technically released from legal connection with the denomination. It was a splendid act of self-sacrificing generosity which honored both pastor and people.

In January, 1913, the General Education Board of New York City promised to contribute from the income of the John D. Rockefeller Fund for Higher Education the sum of \$125,000 for the endowment of the college, provided that a supplemental sum of \$375,000 be contributed in cash or pledges before June 30, 1914. The offer brought new hope to the administration. The President had co-operated faithfully with Dean Hendrick during his entire campaign and had attended him on his various expeditions to raise funds. He had not at heart believed in the desirability of that transformation of the College which the Greater Whitman contemplated, for he felt that a first rate college of the New England type was the real need of the region, rather than an engineer-

ing school which was likely to subordinate the college to it. He now addressed himself whole-heartedly to the new financial campaign made necessary by the offer of the General Education Board, and with the invaluable assistance of Dr. Brooks brought it to a successful completion. Without sacrificing their duties as preacher and teacher, the two men together visited all the subscribers to the Hendrick campaign, leaving Walla Walla on Monday night and returning on Friday morning, in order that Mr. Penrose might teach his Friday and Saturday classes in philosophy and Dr. Brooks might prepare for his regular Sunday services. It involved the expense of much travelling but was cheaper than the employment of a financial agent. When the final day came, June 30, 1914, it was possible for the College to report to the General Education Board that its conditions had been met and that \$375,000 had been secured.

But the securing of subscriptions was not sufficient, the money must be obtained, and it was not until four years later, in 1918, that the great undertaking was completed.

By the close of the second decade three notable figures had disappeared from the scene—Reverend Myron Eells, D.D., of Union City, Washington, Dr. N. G. Blalock, of Walla Walla, and Dr. D. K. Pearson, of Chicago. It would be unseemly to close this chapter without a brief account of what each accomplished in his service for the College and why he should be remembered gratefully.

Rev. Myron Eells, the younger son of Cushing Eells, had been elected a member of the Board of Trustees in 1892 and, in the following year, on his father's death, succeeded him as President of the Board. When the success of the first Pearson financial campaign provided funds which must at once be invested, the remoteness of his residence on the Skokomish Indian Reservation at the head of Hood's Canal made his continuance as President of the Board inadvisable, since all legal papers must be signed by the president and secretary, and tedious delay would result. He therefore resigned the presidency of the Board in favor of Hon. J. F. Boyer, of Walla Walla, but continued as a trustee until his death in 1907. He was keenly interested in the College and faithfully attended the meetings of the Board. He began the college library in 1883 by the gift of books and pamphlets and frequently made contributions to it as well as to the museum of scientific and historical material. A valuable collection of specimens illustrating the life of the Indians of Puget Sound was bequeathed by him to the College. He published three books: "Indian Missions," "Father Eells," and "Marcus Whitman, Pathfinder and Patriot,"

and wrote many historical and scientific pamphlets. His writings all give evidence of a genuinely scientific mind, careful, patient and thorough, with an indefatigable zeal for facts and an extraordinary energy in tracing evidence. He devoted himself with honesty, fairness and openmindedness to establishing the truth concerning Dr. Marcus Whitman and his influence on the Pacific Northwest.

Dr. N. G. Blalock, of Walla Walla, a physician and surgeon, whose reputation extended far beyond the locality, became a member of the Board of Trustees in 1873, and continued a member until his death in 1913. For the last sixteen years of his life he was President of the Board. He had been one of the first to experiment on the raising of wheat on uplands and was considered to be at one time one of the wealthy and substantial men of the Walla Walla valley. Popular and versatile, he became engrossed in business developments which interfered with his professional practice and which, failing, left him at death a poor man.

Daniel Kimball Pearson was born on a farm near Bradford, Vermont, in 1820, and learned by hard experience how to win an education. He worked his own way up through medical school, graduating from the famous Medical Institute at Woodstock, Vermont, and immediately thereafter began the practice of medicine in Chicopee, Massachusetts. He developed a large and lucrative practice, and was held in the highest esteem by the community. In 1860 he and his wife removed to Chicago, where he engaged in the real estate business, becoming one of the most successful real estate brokers in the United States, trusted by his clients and building up a reputation for honesty, shrewdness and sagacity not surpassed by any of the leading men of that great city. He bought and sold great tracts of land in Illinois and in Michigan and invested his profits in bank stocks and other securities with extraordinary foresight and keenness. In 1889, as he was approaching his seventieth birthday, he astonished the business world of Chicago by announcing his retirement from business because he had made enough money and was ready now to spend it. He had accumulated by rare business ability a fortune of at least \$5,000,000, which, after a year of travel with his wife about the United States and Europe, he proceeded to give away according to a carefully calculated plan. Heretofore he had been regarded as one of the closest men in Chicago, but he now began to give wisely, carefully and generously, soon deciding that the small college, located at a strategic point and properly managed, was the best investment for his money. He gave \$213,250 to Whitman College and helped, in all, forty-two American colleges

to get on their feet in their struggle for existence. It was the small and weak college which he loved to help, because he was keenly interested in poor boys and girls, struggling, as he had done, to get an education. He originated the method of conditional giving, which required that, for each dollar that he gave, three other dollars must be secured. He was proud to have received a letter from John D. Rockefeller, who later adopted the same method, crediting him with the origin. When he died in 1912 he had given away his entire fortune and was entirely penniless, his last days and his funeral being provided for by a charitable institution to which he had made a generous gift. Whitman College conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in 1897.

During the period of unrest in the organization and external relations of the College caused by the Greater Whitman project an internal spirit of unrest in the student body was caused by the question of fraternities. Feeling had grown acute when the matter was submitted to the newly organized Board of Overseers on November 15, 1908. The Board referred the matter to a special Committee of Overseers and faculty, consisting of Raymond C. Brooks, John H. Morrow, W. W. Baker for the Overseers, Edward E. Ruby and W. H. Bratton for the faculty. In view of the ultimate outcome it is interesting to know that only one member of this committee, Professor Ruby, was a member of a national fraternity and some of the members were strongly opposed to fraternities.

After a lengthy and careful investigation of the subject the committee submitted to the Overseers on November 15, 1910, an elaborate report, reviewing the history of national fraternities in the colleges of the United States and the history of the incipient fraternity movement at Whitman. It recommended that, unless the cottage system of dormitories, previously proposed for the College be immediately put into operation, national fraternities should be encouraged under regulations appended to the report. The Overseers regarded the matter as so serious that they postponed action on the report for a year while allowing the groups which were already on the campus to continue in operation. At the end of the year action was again postponed until June, 1912, when the report was finally adopted and national fraternities were allowed subject to the regulations proposed by the committee. Immediately afterwards steps were taken by various groups to obtain chapters of national fraternities, the first chapter established being that of Phi Mu in 1913. This was followed by the establishment of chapters of Phi Delta Theta in 1914, of Beta Theta Pi and Delta Gamma in 1916, of Kappa Kappa Gamma in

1918, of Sigma Chi and Delta Delta Delta in 1923, of Alpha Chi Omega in 1928, and of Tau Kappa Epsilon in 1930.

The report of the committee contains an interesting sketch of the fraternity movement at Whitman prior to 1910, and deserves reproduction on this account as well as for the regulations which it recommended, and which were formally adapted by the Board of Overseers.

From 1902 to 1905 there existed at Whitman a self-perpetuating social group of men bearing a Greek letter name and hoping to become a fraternity. They were relatively harmless, appearing in public as a society very infrequently, and exercising little influence upon student life. With the graduation of certain leaders the club disappeared and is apparently dead.

At about the same time a group of girls formed a similar club, the Gamma Kappa, which has shown greater persistence. Its activity has been mainly confined to an occasional social meeting at the home or rooms of some member. It has been in conflict with the college authorities only once or twice, and in these cases it has proven tractable. Its present influence on the social life of the College is small, and its presence, under existing conditions, seems unobjectionable.

During the school year 1907-1908 the abandonment of Prentiss Hall as a dormitory forced a considerable number of women students to seek quarters in the city. At the opening of the school year 1908-1909 there was only enough space in the women's dormitories for freshmen and newly enrolled students; thus practically all of the women who enrolled in the College above freshman year were compelled to find rooms off the campus. At the same time, the dormitory for men was so overcrowded that a large number of them also had to find rooms elsewhere. During that year, owing probably to the natural grouping of congenial men in given localities, there developed two clubs, obtaining houses in which a part of their members might find rooms and which might serve as a social center for the proposed club. The "Illahee Club" was the first to make definite arrangements for a club house, but they were followed before the end of the first semester by the Delta Phi Delta.

At the beginning of that year the Faculty had enacted a set of regulations to which all social and literary clubs were subject, and it was attempted by the above-named clubs to secure recognition from the Faculty under these rules. Because of their failure to meet the regulations as to scholarship, and also because of their similarity to fraternities, as to the advisability of whose existence in the College the Faculty were undecided, the clubs were instructed that their recognition would be held over until the opening of the fall semester of 1910.

The Illahee Club men seem to have started with the best intentions and with leaders capable of strong independent action. Because of inexperience they failed to recognize the possible expense attached to the kind of home they expected to maintain; on the financial side the experience was consequently very discouraging. From the standpoint also of their lack of co-operation with the authorities their presence in the College

proved a hindrance. There was at the beginning of the year a considerable dissatisfaction throughout the student body with the greatly increased expense both of tuition and of living, and this dissatisfaction provided the beginning of a sentiment in the Club tending to independence of its membership from the supervision of the administrative officers of the Faculty; this spirit spread in the student body and a partial degree of failure of hearty and loyal co-operation between the students and the authorities last year may possibly be traced to the presence in the student body of this club. To a much less degree the same thing may be said of the Delta Phi Delta, the other of the two clubs mentioned above.

The students mainly instrumental in the development of this situation graduated with last year's senior class. At the beginning of the present year the necessity for avoiding a renewal of last year's conditions was grasped and a hearty spirit of co-operation now exists between all of the Clubs and the administrative officers of the Faculty. It is believed at the present time that the Clubs are offering a means for the development and safeguarding of right relationships in the life of the student body. At the present time the Faculty and the Club authorities are awaiting the decision of the Board of Overseers in the matter of fraternities before preceding further in the matter of recognition of these clubs.

If it seems practicable to the Overseers to establish without delay the cottage system of dormitories already adopted by the vote of the Overseers, in November, 1908, this would seem to your Committee to be desirable. If, however, this does not seem practicable, we would regard it as wise to permit the establishment of chapters of good national fraternities rather than to permit the students to scatter in homes or to organize local eating clubs.

SUGGESTED RULES

1. No society or fraternity may be organized among the students of the College without a vote of permission by the Faculty. The Faculty reserves the right to withdraw its authorization from any society or fraternity, if in the judgment of the Faculty the well-being of the College requires such action.

2. Each society and fraternity must keep on file with the Faculty a correct list of the members and officers.

3. Membership:

a. No fraternity may initiate, or pledge, a student to membership until he has been in residence at Whitman College at least one semester.

b. In order to be eligible for membership in a fraternity a student must be free from conditions in entrance requirements and must have passed in at least ten hours work. In case it should seem wise to permit the establishment of fraternities, the following are suggested as proper rules for their government:

c. Every fraternity must include in its membership at least one member of the Faculty of Whitman College. Such Faculty members are expected to take an active interest in the fraternity and to keep the Faculty informed as to the character and efficiency of the fraternity as an aid to good morals and the general welfare.

4. Regulations regarding fraternity houses:

- a. No one except students or the College Faculty, or persons designated by the College Faculty, may room in the house.
- b. No student may room in the house until he has reached Sophomore standing.
- c. Not more than fifteen students may room in the house.
- d. A student whose record is unsatisfactory may be removed from the house by the Faculty.
- e. The house must at any time be accessible for inspection by members of the College Faculty.
- f. No intoxicating liquors may be brought to the house at any time.
- g. No game of chance for stakes, either expressed or implied, shall be played in the house at any time.
- h. Regular study hours must be observed in the house.
- i. Social functions in the house must be subject to control of the Faculty through the Committees on Social Life.
- j. House rules in addition to the above must be approved by the Faculty and kept on file by the Faculty.

5. Property of the fraternities:

- a. No fraternity may own a chapter house except it be on College ground or upon ground approved by the Board of Trustees upon recommendation of the College Faculty. Any fraternity house built upon other than College ground is understood to be under the control of the College Faculty as to its use as though it were upon College ground. No building shall be erected by a fraternity until after approval of its architectural plans and final arrangement by the Board of Trustees.
- b. This is not to be interpreted so as to prevent a fraternity from leasing for a period not to exceed two years a house not on College ground, it being understood that no lease shall be entered into or recommended except upon approval of the Board of Trustees upon recommendation of the Faculty.

The settlement of this vexing question relieved the tension in the student body and was greeted with joy by a majority of the students. The long discussion of the question helped to develop a sense of responsibility in the fraternities when finally they were established, and they have co-operated loyally with the faculty in promoting a wholesome life in the institution. The acceptance of national fraternities for the future life of the College meant the deliberate rejection of the principle of local fraternities without national relationships and supervision. A social group must aim at becoming ultimately a member of a national organization if it is to receive recognition from the faculty and be allowed to exist openly on the Whitman campus. The decision of the Overseers deeply affected the life of the College but seems to have been wisely taken when one considers the subsequent social developments. Their coming meant the death of the literary societies

which had formerly flourished. For the experience of Whitman was not unlike that of the other American Colleges which have found that the interest which students feel in their social fraternities interferes with the interest which is necessary to maintain literary societies. If national fraternities encouraged literary work among their members the passing of literary societies would not be serious, but since they seldom do so the effect upon the intellectual life of the College is to be regretted. Nothing has taken the place of the Athenaeum and the Phrenokosmian Societies for the men, and Libethrean and Philolithian Societies for the women. Would that somehow there might be a revival of literary societies which would cut across the separate streams of fraternity organizations and bring together in a common interest those who might otherwise hold aloof from one another! Occasional efforts have been made from time to time to develop an interest in literary expression such as the publication first of the *Codex*, and later the *Blue Moon* and *Yeast*. But these were ephemeral in character and it is a question whether writing can satisfactorily take the place of and be the sole medium of speech for developing a permanent literary interest.

The most distinctive contribution to education in the Penrose administration was the adoption of the major or comprehensive examination system in 1913, which took effect with the class of 1914. It required as a necessary condition for graduation that all students in the last semester of their senior year, should pass a searching oral examination before a committee of the faculty on the entire field of their major study which included three of four years of college work. It will be described at length in a subsequent chapter, but has remained in force with only slight modifications until the present day. It compelled a thorough and comprehensive survey of the entire field of study and gave a new seriousness to College work. Whitman was the first American college to introduce this plan as a requirement for graduation in all departments and, at the time of its adoption, was not aware that it had been tried in any other institution.

The entrance of the United States into the World War, April 6, 1917, profoundly affected the College. Anticipating that event, it had already applied to the War Department for the enlistment of an R.O.T.C., and was said to be the first American college, after war was declared, at which a Reserve Officers' Training Corps was established. It had already undertaken military service by unanimous vote of its students, and, when its military organization was officially inspected by the government, a wholly favorable judgment was passed upon it. At first military instruction

was given by army officers from Fort Walla Walla, which had been temporarily reopened as a remount station for the 146th Artillery, but when the R.O.T.C. was supplanted by the S.A.T.C., or Students' Army Training Corps, in 1918, a retired army officer, Capt. Theophilus Breckenridge Steel was appointed as Commandant, succeeded later by Capt. Chris Jensen, with several subordinate army officers.

The College was quarantined during the influenza epidemic in the fall of 1918, and all of the students and faculty were confined to the campus. Students from the town were housed in the gymnasium, thus enabling College work to be carried on without interruption until the actual outbreak of the disease in the College caused a temporary cessation of all College activities except military drill. One student, Arthur Jaycox, of Walla Walla, died in a local hospital as a result of the influenza.

Methods of instruction were modified to meet army regulations and classes were conducted according to military rules. Attendance diminished as students from the S.A.T.C. were assigned to various government training camps, but College work went on according to the usual curriculum so far as was possible. In the class of 1918 only one man was graduated, he being excluded from military service by physical disability.

The record of Whitman men in the war was highly creditable. Although a small college it had 351 stars on its service flag, including army, navy and allied services, in which last 14 women were listed, and was said to have sent a larger proportion of its graduates and undergraduates into the war than any other college in the United States. Of the men graduates of the College up to and including the class of 1920, 41.6% were in active war service, and of these 54.7% received commissions. Of the fifty base hospitals in France maintained by the Red Cross, two were commanded by Whitman sons and a third by a son-in-law.

Whitman's Honor Roll of those who died in military service comprises:

Dale Melrose, ex '18, Ambulance Co. 361

died at Camp Lewis, Wash.—Dec. 17, 1917

Joseph Wilson Fairlamb, ex '11, Co. A., 28 Infantry
killed in action near Plessy, France, July 20, 1918

Robert Claude Still, ex '13, Tank Corps

died at Camp Colt, Pennsylvania, Oct. 3, 1918

John Henry Martin, ex '17, Ambulance Co. 11
died at Camp Fremont, California, Oct. 20, 1918

Leroy Wesley Cross, ex '19, Co. E., 157th Infantry

- killed in action in France, Oct. 22, 1918
Travis Sloan Henderson, ex '12, Imperial Ministry of Munitions
died at Prince Rupert, British Columbia, Oct. 24, 1918
Joseph Van Stevens, ex '21, Machine Gun Co., 364th Infantry
killed in action at Transol, France, Oct. 31, 1918
Walter Cooke Lee, ex '14, 1st Lieut., Second Battalion Head-
quarters, 146 Field Artillery
died at Neuilly, France, Nov. 16, 1918
Arthur Payne Jaycox, ex '20, Students Army Training Corps
died at Walla Walla, Washington, Nov. 24, 1918

In its issue of February, 1919, the *Outlook* magazine of New York City published an article entitled "The S.A.T.C.—a Comedy" by "a college president," in which the amusing and serious effects of military discipline upon the life of an American college were vividly described. At the time it was not considered advisable to publish the name of the author, but it is now known that he was the president of Whitman College and that he was telling, without embellishment, his actual experience with army rule. Some of these incidents may sound incredible, but they were told truthfully, without exaggeration.

THE S.A.T.C.—A COMEDY

This is Monday, and on Saturday our S.A.T.C. (Students' Army Training Corps) was demobilized. Today the faculty—those at least who have been teaching "war" classes—are all sitting with bent shoulders and bowed heads over piles of pink, blue, yellow, and white papers on which they must immediately report to Washington, in triplicate, the exact nature, composition, and characteristics of each class they have taught, with special details concerning the age of each student and the hour of the day at which the instruction was imparted. Is not the war over? Certainly. But these forms were made to be filled out, and orders are orders. A telegram from Headquarters has demanded that they be sent at once, and hence the moving picture of submissive professors, glad in a way to perform this useless task, since it marks the end of the nightmare which has ridden the College since September.

I said the boys were demobilized, but of course they were not paid off. Neither they nor we expected that any such good fortune as that would befall them. Nothing like that has happened heretofore, and it would be captious to expect that anything would come on time. The only things that have come on time have been orders, and they usually have come ahead of time. But, despite the fact that the boys were discharged without pay and unable, some of them, to go home for lack of money, they were happy and warm. Their overcoats had come that December morning, by almost inconceivable good luck, and they were wrapped from the biting cold which threatened their bodies, still weak

from the influenza. The week before had brought them uniforms too—woolen uniforms—so that not many of them had died from insufficient clothing when they were convalescing after the epidemic which had swept through the College at the time of the first November snow.

I never before appreciated the value of a United States senator so much as this fall, for if it had not been for a few telegrams addressed to influential senators at Washington, who acted promptly and had clothing sent by express from the nearest army post, I fear that the mortality would have been excessive. Of course, a full supply of equipment—uniforms, overcoats, underclothes, everything necessary—had been duly ordered; ordered indeed, and then ordered again; but the humorous-minded Committee on Education and Special Training, who created, developed, and managed the S.A.T.C., had insisted from the beginning that all requisitions for supplies of any sort must be sent to them, no matter from what part of the country. It takes nearly a week for a letter to reach Washington from here. In early October we made a formal requisition on the Committee for an immediate supply of clothing for the men of the organization. Nothing happened. After three weeks a letter came from Major Blank, of the Committee (nobody less than a major could be a member of that body), acknowledging the receipt of the requisition and instructing us to make out another copy of it and send it to an army depot a thousand miles in the opposite direction. This also we did. Nothing happened. Three weeks more went by. It was now mid-November, and the first wave of influenza was receding, letting patients out of the hospital into the keen winds from the near-by mountains. Here was where the senators proved useful. Three telegrams, and something happened. From different army depots clothing came by express, in abundance. There had been no shortage of it. Depot headquarters had been full to overflowing with it. Only nobody seemed able to get it. I shall always thank God for the United States Senate.

November 11 will always be a great day in world history. On that day the following telegram from the Committee on Education and Special Training was received:

S.A.T.C. units will continue military and academic work without interruption regardless of armistice. Plans have been prepared for the future of S.A.T.C. under conditions brought about by armistice.

Ten days later came a telegram peremptorily ordering immediate demobilization. I might have guessed it, for from the beginning scarcely a thing has happened as we were told it would happen. It has been such a succession of delays, if not promises, that these three months have ceased to be the tragedy that they seemed to be at the time and have been glorified by the spirit of comedy. Only the comic Muse of a George Meredith could do justice to the amazing tale. I give three random illustrations before proceeding further.

Demobilization could not take place until an officer from each unit of the S.A.T.C. in the territory had gone to the central headquarters to be instructed how to demobilize. At headquarters this instruction consisted

in reading aloud to the assembled representatives the identical orders for demobilization which had already been sent typewritten to the several units. Meanwhile our commanding officer, an experienced captain of the Regular Army, sat at home kicking his heels waiting for the return of the newly appointed second lieutenant of a summer camp who should presently tell him how to discharge men from the Army.

This telegram was received promptly from one of the Senators to whom appeal had been made:

Department has telegraphed authorities Fort X to immediately equip students from fort's supply of clothing, avoiding further delay.

I replied by wire that Fort X, an old army post located near our town, had been abandoned for eight years and had no supplies nor authorities in charge of them. Its empty buildings had been put in charge of a caretaker, an old retired sergeant, who had died two months before.

Our unit was an infantry unit, intended to train infantry officers. It might be supposed that rifles would therefore be provided, as the manual of arms is an essential part of the training, and the instruction in field tactics can be well enough covered in two weeks. But *dis aliter visum!* We had an abundance of officers, including an expert in bayonet practice; we had an abundance of men, half of whom had already had military training in our R.O.T.C. or in a summer camp; we dug trenches and constructed dummies for bayonet practice. But rifles? No, indeed! Some one might be injured—perhaps even shot! The last contingency was, in fact, averted by withholding any supply of ammunition; but to make assurance doubly sure the rifles, too, were withheld. The men were demobilized after two months of military training, with fourteen hours a week of outdoor drill, and never laid hands on a gun. Can I ever cease to be thankful for such a Committee on Education and Special Training, who saved my dear boys from this peril?

This is not an attack upon the general plan of the S.A.T.C., but a truthful account of the way that plan was administered in one case. The plan was excellent in its main objects; it undertook to supply swiftly a large number of young officers by obtaining the material from the colleges and sending it in a steady stream to central training camps; it sought to extend government aid to education and to help the colleges while helping the army; it was deeply patriotic, and enlisted the services of distinguished college presidents and army officers. The fault was not so much with the plan as with the way it was administered. It had not been thought out as to details before it began to be put in operation, and consequently it was always subject to change, and to change without notice. For example: On August 14 the Adjutant-General of the Army telegraphed, authorizing the establishment of a unit of the S.A.T.C. at this institution, and said: "Additional rifles, uniforms, and other equipment will be provided so far as necessary." That gave hope that the Army would handle all supplies. On August 22 the Committee on Education and Special Training telegraphed: "Uniforms, ordnance, and other supplies will be issued by Committee direct. No requisitions needed and none must

be sent." On September 9 the Committee, by Major Blank, telegraphed:

Distribution of equipment for S.A.T.C. units will be handled directly by Committee on Education and Special Training. S.A.T.C. commanding officer detailed at institution is only person authorized to make requisitions. He will requisition Committee for one cot, three wool blankets, two bed sacks or two mattress covers per man after deducting number of single beds or cots available at institution and only after number of men physically qualified for induction is ascertained.

That was discouraging, for College was to open in less than three weeks, and it meant that when the men came they would have no blankets even if the College could supply beds, and it forbade the commanding officer to requisition for anything until the full number of men was ascertained, which of course could not be done until after College should have opened.

But in this single case we got the best of the Committee. Without hesitancy our commanding officer, an experienced retired captain of the Regular Army, wired his requisition for a sufficient supply of cots, blankets, and mattress covers, and signed his telegram, as an Army officer should, "Smith, C. O." Three days later, September 12, a telegram came from the Committee, addressed to "President C. O. Smith," identical in every word with the message which had been received by me three days before as President of the College. Apparently in Washington the Committee did not understand how a requisition should be signed, and I had to wire explaining that "C. O." stood for "Commanding Officer." The cots and blankets came, however, and ours was the only institution in this region which had government blankets for its men when the College opened, October 1.

It would indeed have been a miracle if this grandiose scheme for quick military training had been successful. It sought to impart in three months' time the essentials of a military education, and to do it by means of absolutely uniform instruction, methods, and discipline. It undertook the impossible, and thought that rigorous discipline could accomplish it. The student must "stand at attention" when reciting; the professor must "stand at attention" before a syllabus elaborately prepared in Washington. With what impressive zeal did the Committee issue wave after wave of instructions, outlines, syllabi, regulations! Uniformity must be obtained at any cost, and therefore monthly reports must be submitted with the grades of each student, and monthly inspections by neatly uniformed young Army officers must be made, and a detailed description of the education and special training of each member of the faculty who taught an S.A.T.C. class must be sent in, and the institution must be made to stretch itself on a Procrustes bed of military meticulousness. It did my sense of humor good to see the unit come marching in full strength after supper from mess-hall to study-hall each night. Supervised study was the rule, and so they studied, in serried columns, meekly, zealously, quietly, with patriotic fervor. The College library never saw such a sight before. Every seat filled with a man, and every man deep in a book! I think that this

was the real—and only—miracle which the S.A.T.C. performed. It was touching to see the ardor, the faithfulness, the devotion, of these inchoate generals who were aflame with the passion for war. Fraternities were abandoned; social life was abandoned; “fussing” was no more. The girls of the College (this is a co-educational institution) declare that they do not even know the names of their fellow (male) students. A new era had dawned for American undergraduates. What a pity that it was so brief! A two months’ dream, and untold millions of dollars thrown away! It suggests the epitaph of a very young baby in an old English church-yard:

“Since I was so quickly done for,
I wonder what I was begun for.”

But I am sorry for the boys who were so earnest and who now feel as though they had been deceived in every particular. They may, it is true, wear their uniforms and overcoats for three months longer; but their hope of getting into the war is gone, and for most of them their hope of getting an education is gone, for this year at least. With splendid eagerness they took the government of the United States at its word and came to college. They were promised their tuition, their room and board, their equipment, and thirty dollars per month pay. Their country needed them, the world needed them; and they were wise enough, loyal enough, to come. Never had such a chance been given to young men in any country before. Paid to go to college, and serve one’s country, too! They gave up their jobs and came. They sacrificed their chance to earn money in the long vacation by going to a summer training camp. Whereas usually they start in at college with a few hundred dollars saved, this fall they knew that the government would take care of them, and after they were inducted into the service they were forbidden to earn money. Happy, care-free young soldiers, eager to fight for their country so generous and strong. And then, bang! It’s all over. The order for demobilization has come, which does not even allow the first term’s work to be completed or a term’s credits earned, and these brave boys are dismissed, their mess-hall closed, their tuition stopped, their pockets empty, and their hearts heavy with disappointment and despair. They had done their best, and their country had gone back on them; they were cheated of the education which had been promised them. They were without funds, and they could not go on with their college course.

I talked with one bright fellow just before he left for home—a sophomore who had worked his way through his freshman year. “I am sorry that I cannot go on with my college course,” he said; “but it is too late to find enough work to carry me through. I might earn my board and room, but I never could pay my tuition.” And my heart ached because I could not say to him, “Never mind the tuition; come anyway.” I had to keep silent because I knew that the College could itself scarcely survive without the tuition fees which it had counted on receiving from the Government.

Therefore I smile, though grimly. The comic Muse has ordered the

wreck of institutions and the ruin of hopes in the high name of Patriotism and Education.

The effect of the war upon the College was financially disastrous. When the war broke out, Whitman was free from debt, thanks to the generosity of the people of Walla Walla and friends throughout the country. But the war worked havoc with its plans and its prosperity. Its student body was depleted and its income from tuitions reduced; its expenses were increased, and a deficit of \$10,000 a year was unavoidable. Its faculty stayed at their posts despite the increased cost of living, though their salaries were already small. Every economy possible was practised and expenses cut to the quick, but in vain.

To relieve the distress of college teachers whose salaries had been practically cut in half in purchasing power by the rise of prices, Mr. John D. Rockefeller gave to the General Education Board a fund sufficient to provide a temporary increase in salaries on condition that double the amount granted in any case be secured from other sources. For three years the College secured relief for its faculty in this way, obtaining \$6,000 a year from the General Education Board and raising \$12,000 a year from its Overseers and friends. Without this help its faculty would have disintegrated or would have suffered severely. Not until its students returned from overseas and conditions once more gradually became normal did the College escape from disaster and a forward movement again become possible.



CHAPTER X

SUNSHINE AND SHADOW

When the war was over and the College had begun to recover from the long period of unrest which had preceded it, it found its strength essentially unimpaired because of the steadfast devotion of its permanent faculty. Through all the trials and hardships of the administration there still remained the faithful band of devoted men and women who had endured without complaint because of their high purpose. To Professors Anderson, Lyman, Pepoon, Bratton, Brown, Brode and Ruby had been added W. R. Davis, head of the English department; W. H. Bleakney, head of the Greek department; F. L. Haigh, head of the Chemistry department; W. E. Leonard, head of the department of Economics and Business; W. C. Eells, Professor of Applied Mathematics and Drawing, and R. V. Borleske, Director of Physical Education. Of the Old Guard, James W. Cooper, Professor of Romance Languages, a high minded and earnest Christian gentleman of fine scholarship and sensitive nature had died in 1919. Other men and women, who later won distinction elsewhere, were connected with the College during the period, for longer or shorter terms varying from one to six years, and are mentioned here as illustrating the material which composed the faculty. Among them were Norman F. Coleman, who became Professor of English at Reed College and later its President; H. W. Brubaker, now head of the Chemistry department at Kansas State College; Ralph P. Boas, now Professor of English at Mt. Holyoke College; Charles Grove Haines, now Professor of Political Science in the University

of California at Los Angeles (who wrote his book "The American Doctrine of Judicial Supremacy" while at Whitman); Otis J. Todd, Professor of Greek at the University of British Columbia; Lawrence I. Hewes, Chief Engineer of the U.S. Department of Public Roads for the Pacific Slope; A. C. Millspaugh, Administrator general of Finances for the Persian Government; H. G. Merriam, Professor of English at the University of Montana; R. H. Clark, Professor of Chemistry at the University of British Columbia, and Samuel Kroesch, head of the German department at the University of Minnesota.

The men who stayed with the College were not inferior to these temporary members of the faculty either in scholarship or ability. They were inspired with devotion to the ideals of the College which they wished to help realize.

The death of ex-Governor Miles C. Moore in 1919 deprived the Board of Trustees of its president and the College of one of its staunchest friends. He was, undoubtedly, at the time of his death, Walla Walla's foremost citizen, widely known and respected for his ability and sagacity.

Born at Rix Mills, Ohio, in 1845, he came to Walla Walla in 1864 and became identified with the business interests of the young town and later with banking. He married the oldest daughter of Dr. D. S. Baker and was associated with the latter in the Baker-Boyer Bank, of which he became president following Dr. Baker's death in 1889. Keenly interested in politics, he took an active part in political affairs. He was appointed by President Harrison as Governor of Washington Territory, being the last man to occupy that office before Washington became a state in 1889. He was an intimate friend of the leaders in business, politics, and banking, and, whenever he went to New York, San Francisco, Seattle or Portland, would be warmly greeted by men of distinction who liked him for his keen mind and delightful humor. He became a member of the Board of Overseers at its organization in 1908, and a member of the Board of Trustees in 1910, holding the office of President of the Board from 1913 until his death. He left a bequest of \$50,000 to the College for the establishment of a Chair of Political Science, which, by vote of the Trustees, was named the Miles C. Moore Professorship in his honor.

As the administration drew to the conclusion of its twenty-fifth year, the alumni and faculty decided to celebrate the event appropriately under the energetic leadership of Professor W. C. Eells, who had reorganized the Alumni Association and established the *Alumnus* as its official organ in 1917. The alumni undertook to raise \$25,000 to build a house for the president. The ground for

the new building was broken at commencement and the house was completed as soon as the subscriptions were paid, being ready for occupancy in January, 1922. A total of \$24,500 was contributed for this purpose. The alumni also presented to the College a bronze tablet in memory of the men who lost their lives in the War, and it was unveiled at this time followed by the dedication of a row of maple trees on the east front of the campus in honor of the soldier dead.

The faculty and Overseers marked the celebration by an Educational Congress in connection with commencement, at which the representatives of many colleges were present. Rev. Raymond C. Brooks, D.D., now of California, preached the baccalaureate sermon, and addresses were given by Harry A. Garfield, president of Williams College, a classmate of Mr. Penrose, Henry S. Pritchett, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Prince L. Campbell, president of the University of Oregon, and Henry Suzzalo, president of the University of Washington. The discussions of the addresses by President Campbell and Dr. Pritchett were led by Professor F. M. Padelford of the University of Washington, Aurelia H. Reinhardt, president of Mills College, and Reverend Austin Rice, D.D., of Wakefield, Massachusetts. Professor Bratton, on behalf of the Whitman Faculty, gave an interesting interpretation of the administration from the faculty point of view. On Monday afternoon the "Masque of Whitman" was presented in the amphitheatre by undergraduate students. An unusually large attendance of alumni and out-of-town visitors helped to make the celebration notable.

In the following September the reputation which the College had gained for its scholarship and thoroughness of work was recognized by the granting of a charter of Phi Beta Kappa by the unanimous vote of the Triennial Council of that venerable honor fraternity assembled at Cambridge, Massachusetts. Careful preparation for such recognition had been made through the previous six years by the organization of a local honor society known as X, conducted on the severest Phi Beta Kappa principles. The ninety-two chapters of the fraternity had been fully informed concerning the work of the College and the organization of X but it was seldom that Phi Beta Kappa granted a charter to a college on its first application and still rarer that it should do so by a unanimous vote. The chapter was installed by Dr. Oscar M. Voorhees, the national secretary, in January, 1920, and the prestige of the College was thereby enhanced.

The effect of the war upon attendance in the College was most marked in 1918 when it fell to 249, of whom 113 were freshmen.

But the next year attendance had climbed to 310, and by 1921 to 410. The question of future policy therefore arose to decide whether attendance should be allowed to increase indefinitely or whether the College would better limit its attendance to a definite figure and devote itself to improving the quality of the education which it would give to a comparatively small number of students. The question was presented to the Overseers at their annual meeting in June, 1921, and was carefully considered by them. After thorough discussion of the question it was decided that it would be better for the College to limit its attendance to 500 college students, and that in order to prevent it from becoming too much of a local institution not more than twenty-five per cent of the attendance should be from Walla Walla. This rate of twenty-five per cent was based upon the fact that the people of Walla Walla had contributed twenty-five per cent of the College's resources.

At the same time it was decided that it would be advantageous for the social and intellectual life of the institution if a ratio between the sexes was established, whereby the number of men should exceed the number of women as three to two. The College was thus preserved from the danger which was threatening it of becoming predominantly a college for women, because at this time the girls of the Northwest were quicker to appreciate the quality of the education which Whitman was offering. When it was asked why numerical equality between the sexes was not sought, the answer was that the proposed ratio would be advantageous both for the girls and the men in stimulating that deference to woman which should be a part of the education of a gentleman. It was thought that a finer courtesy would develop when the number of men was the greater.

The adoption of this principle of selective admission immediately stimulated attendance and increased the quality of the student body although the cost of tuition was increased at the same time. In 1908 tuition had been raised from \$50, the old time charge, to \$100 without diminishing the attendance. In 1919 it had been raised to \$125, in 1921 to \$150 and in 1927 to \$200, and each increase was immediately followed by an increase in attendance. People seemed to appreciate the work of the College in proportion to its own appreciation of its work as measured by the tuition which it charged.

The limitation to 500 students was interpreted liberally by the faculty to mean that not more than 500 students should be actually in attendance at one time, although the enrollment might go beyond that figure. It was assumed that the enrollment might

be allowed to approximate 550 without transgressing the limitation adopted by the Overseers.

But, despite the more rigorous entrance qualifications which were maintained, and the rejection of many candidates for admission who did not fully meet the entrance requirements, the enrollment increased rapidly and the popularity of the College steadily rose until the depression began to show its effects in 1931, when the attendance fell off from 589 the previous year to 564. This ebb tide continued to flow through 1932 and 1933, when attendance declined to 450, practically the figure of 1922. The limitation of local students to twenty-five per cent of the total attendance, likewise had a beneficial effect upon the character of that attendance. The College immediately took a higher place in local esteem and admission to it was regarded as a prize to be grasped at rather than a favor conferred by a student.

The increase in attendance made it necessary to provide additional dormitory accommodations, for the College had long felt responsibility for housing the out-of-town students on the campus so far as possible. Reynolds Hall had provided sufficient accommodation for the girls until after the war, but, in 1920, a large private residence close by was purchased and named Langdon House in memory of the former owner, John W. Langdon, who had been a trustee of the College since 1910. The fraternity houses had provided accommodation for some of the young men after Billings Hall was discontinued as a dormitory, but, in 1920, a large private residence was given to the College by Mrs. William Kirkman, of Walla Walla, to help house out-of-town men. But these houses afforded only temporary and inadequate relief to the pressure for suitable accommodations, and by 1921 it was felt necessary to take a bolder step and build a dormitory for out-of-town freshmen boys. Three years later it was equally necessary to build a larger dormitory for out-of-town girls. Lyman House and Prentiss Hall were the result.

The financial circumstances of the College did not, in the judgment of the Trustees, warrant the investment of its endowment funds in such buildings even though they would pay a return upon the investment, and it was necessary to find some other method for solving the problem. The Whitman Building Corporation was accordingly formed by a group of alumni to help the College in its building program. It floated a bond issue of \$150,000 to build a freshman boys' dormitory and a central heating plant, upon land deeded by the College for them, and secured by the agreement with the College to pay a yearly rental for the use of the buildings sufficient to cover the interest and retire the bonds

in twenty years. The dormitory, a handsome brick building accommodating 100 boys, was named Lyman House in memory of Professor William Denison Lyman, professor of history and a member of the faculty since President Anderson's time, who had died loved and lamented in 1920.

Again the Whitman Building Corporation aided the College materially in 1924 by building, in the same way, a large and handsome brick dormitory for 150 girls, which was named Prentiss Hall in honor of Narcissa Prentiss, the wife of Dr. Marcus Whitman. This dormitory was located on the site of the first College building erected in 1883.

In planning Prentiss Hall a new and original solution was found for the problem of housing the sororities.

The problem of the housing of its sororities confronts every institution which permits those organizations to exist and it is usually solved by allowing the sororities to house themselves, either in rented houses or in those which have been built for them by their alumnae, usually by means of a bond issue, the burden of which sooner or later is apt to fall upon the undergraduate chapter, increasing the expense of membership. The maintenance of the house, its supervision and regulations, and the responsibility for supplying suitable food at regular intervals for twenty-five or thirty delicately nurtured girls falls upon the inexperienced shoulders of undergraduates and is a heavy burden to be borne by them. When a competent house mother is engaged, who is also an expert manager, the expense is correspondingly increased though the burden upon the students is lightened. Moreover, life in a sorority house, separated from the main stream of campus activities, is liable to result in a sense of aloofness, if not of superiority, and to develop a self-centeredness on the part of the sorority, which frequently culminates in snobbishness. Aloofness and snobbishness are the perils of all fraternities but girls are more exposed to them than the men, because the latter, although living in houses not belonging to the college, take part more generally in student activities, particularly athletics, which bring them into closer relations with the main body of students.

Prentiss Hall was divided into seven sections, completely separate on the second and third floors but having access on the ground floor to the living-rooms and dining-room of the dormitory. Each sorority was assigned to one of these sections in which a chapter room with kitchenette was provided, all the girls, however, taking their meals together in the common dining room and participating freely in the common life.

A spirit of democracy was thus encouraged and, in the warmth

of good feeling which prevailed, the tendency to snobbishness melted away. Each sorority pays \$200 a year for the use of its chapter room, but otherwise its members pay only the customary room rent. The undergraduates are thus saved much expense and the heavy burden of house administration. They have the advantages of sorority life and the separateness which is desirable for it, without the burden of house maintenance and without that too great separateness which ordinarily ends in snobbishness.

Even the independent women were cared for, a separate section being assigned to them. They too have been encouraged to develop a common consciousness through organization of "Phrateres," the name of the national independent women's group. The building is in charge of a competent house mother and is under the direct supervision of the dean of women, both of whom are residents. The Whitman plan has been warmly commended by the visiting representatives of many national sororities who have lived in Prentiss and seen the working out of the system.

The traditional antagonism between town and gown has never been strongly felt between the people of Walla Walla and the College because, in early days, the latter was so small and weak as to excite either indifference or sympathy but not hostility. As the College grew larger and wealthier it commanded respect as its importance to the business interests of the town was realized. Cordial relations grew up between the townspeople on the one hand and the faculty and students on the other. Perhaps the members of the faculty were sometimes thought of as "highbrow," but they did not hold aloof from the life of the town and entered into social affairs so far as their poverty and over-work permitted. The students, moreover, did not render themselves obnoxious by frequent acts of lawlessness, but were largely occupied with their own concerns on the campus, entering into relations with the town mainly through the churches and the stores. A marked development in the cordial relations, which had prevailed between the institution and the community, took place in 1923 when a great outdoor pageant, "How the West was Won," was produced by their joint efforts. A spirit of active co-operation, understanding and friendliness grew out of the common undertaking in which three thousand persons, performers and assistants took part. The production was given at the fair grounds on two successive afternoons before an audience of ten thousand people; and its success was so great that it was repeated the following year. The artistic quality of the production was due in large measure to the director, Mr. Percy J. Burrell, of Boston, who had been engaged because of his experience in pageantry. Realism and idealism were blended

in this pageant which sought to reveal the significance of the history of the Walla Walla Valley.

The General Education Board of New York City, which had already generously helped the College by one gift of \$125,000 conditioned on the raising of \$375,000, and by small annual grants for faculty salaries during the period of distress which followed the World War, again came to its aid in 1923 by offering to contribute \$125,000 for additional endowment, on condition that \$250,000 more be secured for the same purpose. A vigorous financial campaign to raise \$1,500,000 was conducted under expert direction which met the conditions of the General Education Board and, in addition, secured a total of \$745,081.05 in cash and pledges from the alumni and friends of the College.

A statement concerning the progress of the financial campaign was issued by the College on Founders' Day, 1926, and sent to all the alumni clubs which had been organized about the world. It said:

The present status of the financial campaign is that about \$750,000 has been pledged including the recent bequest of \$100,000 by Judge Burke, of Seattle. A number of additional large subscriptions is hoped for but the fund so far has made very satisfactory progress. Of the amount pledged \$400,000 has been paid, leaving subscriptions and bequests of \$350,000. In order to give the College the advantage of these unpaid subscriptions without waiting for their full payment, the Whitman Building Corporation bought \$200,000 worth of such subscriptions and put them up as part security for a bond issue of \$300,000, the additional security being the ground on which a new dormitory for women should be built together with the building itself. Of the \$300,000 received from this bond issue, \$150,000 was set aside for the dormitory and \$150,000 was given to the College. Of this latter amount \$100,000 cleared off all the indebtedness and \$6,500 was given for a boiler for the central heating plant and \$43,500 was given to endowment. This last gift enabled the College to complete its contract with the General Educational Board of New York City, which has promised to give \$125,000 when \$250,000 additional for endowment had been subscribed. In December a statement was submitted to the General Education Board certifying that the College was completely out of debt and that \$183,000 for endowment had already been paid in cash of the \$250,000 required. Immediately the Board sent its check for \$91,500, half of the amount secured by the College. The remaining portion of the Board's subscription will be paid to the College as fast as it can secure the outstanding subscriptions for endowment. It has until July 1, 1927, to complete the transaction. Whenever it makes a requisition upon the Board it must certify that the College is out of debt and this constitutes an ever recurring difficulty as expenses often run ahead of receipts.

The total cost of the women's dormitory furnished will be close to \$200,000. The \$150,000 bond issue was not sufficient to complete the

building and one section was provided for by loans from individuals. The cost of future work and of furnishing will fall upon the College itself and it must either take this money from current expenses or run into debt. The latter is inevitable because the current expense fund is entirely exhausted by salaries and overhead costs. Relief is greatly needed from this unexpected burden else the College will find itself unable to secure the remaining amount promised by the General Education Board on the ground that it will not be free from debt. A recent gift of \$3,000 from three sisters, members of "the Whitman Family," to furnish the living rooms of the new dormitory in honor of their father and mother, was very helpful and encouraging from this point of view.

This financial campaign fell far short of securing its grand objective of \$1,500,000, but the conditions of the General Education Board were finally met, a fine dormitory for girls was built, equipment was improved, and in July, 1927, the College was freed of debt.

If all of the pledges which were given on a five-year basis had been paid the College would have been able to pass through the subsequent depression without embarrassment, but many of them were not paid and the obligations which the College had assumed in anticipation of their faithful payment, bore heavily upon it in the later time of stress.

The reference to Judge Burke in the foregoing statement recalls that brilliant, charming and influential man who had been chairman of the Board of Overseers since 1919, and whose death on December 4, 1925, had brought sorrow to three continents.

Thomas Burke was born in Clinton County in the northeast corner of New York, December 22, 1849. He was brought up in extreme poverty there and later on a farm in Iowa, and was obliged to earn all the education which he received. But when he was buried in Seattle, December 11, 1925, the flags of three nations, Japan, France and Belgium were draped above his coffin, under the flag of the United States, while United States troops acted as a military guard of honor. He had been twice decorated by the Emperor of Japan, with the Third Order of the Sacred Treasure and the Fourth Order of the Rising Sun, he had received from the French Government the Cross of the Legion of Honor, and King Albert of Belgium had decorated him with the Order of the Knights of Leopold. He had become the foremost citizen of the State of Washington, with both a national and an international reputation for wisdom, ability and the spirit of generous friendliness.

After graduating from the law school of the University of Michigan he moved to Seattle in 1875, and steadily climbed to

eminence in the profession of law and in civic life. He was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Washington Territory, but, after clearing its congested docket, he retired again into private practice, becoming later Western Counsel of the Great Northern Railway and leader of the Washington Bar. His influence for good was strongly felt in the development of Seattle and of the State. He was one of the founders of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce and its first secretary, a director and one of the first presidents of the Chamber of Commerce of the Pacific Coast, a director of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and a trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Upright, sagacious, with a rare gift of eloquence and unrivaled charm of manner, Judge Burke interested himself in work for the public good and especially in international friendship. He gave generously to every good cause. To Whitman College he gave \$35,000 during his lifetime and at his death a legacy of \$100,000 on which he directed that interest at five per cent should be paid from the date of his death until the principal should be paid from his estate. He became a member of the Board of Overseers of Whitman College upon its organization in 1908 and served as Chairman of the Board from 1919 until his death. Whitman conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D. in 1898.

The establishment of a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa had been secured through the efforts of those members of the faculty who were already members of that ancient organization, but soon other national honor societies were formed through the joint efforts of faculty members and students—Mu Phi Epsilon in 1920, for women who have won distinction in musical studies; Delta Sigma Rho in 1920, for men and women who had shown excellence in debate and public speaking, and Mortar Board in 1926, for women distinguished by scholarship, leadership and service. A local honor society for men and women, and later for men only, the Order of Waiilatpu, was organized in 1921, to promote loyalty to the traditions of the College and to give recognition to leaders in College life.

In addition to these Honor Societies, whose object is to recognize achievement, a number of departmental clubs have been organized to promote scholarly and literary effort. The oldest of these is the Greek Club, founded in 1902, which later became the Classical Club, for the stimulation of archaeological and classical studies. Other departments have organized similar activities; the Dramatic Club, L'Alliance Française, Der Deutsche Verein, El Club Espagnol, the Chemistry Club, the Biology Club and the International Relations Club.

The student organizations which have played the most active part in the life of the College, and which still survive, are The Associated Students, to which all students belong and which controls athletics, journalism, debate, oratory and music, the Women's Self Government Association, which regulates the life in Prentiss Hall, the Young Women's Christian Association, The Press Club, the Chapel Choir, the Glee Club, the Orchestra and the Band.

The first effort in the field of student journalism was the publication of the *Collegian*, from which quotations were made in a previous chapter. It appeared in January, 1893, and published only five monthly numbers, after which the fortunes of the institution were too precarious and the number of its students too small to encourage literary self-expression. It was not until the next administration had got well under way and the student body had begun to grow in size and in a sense of self-importance, that another journalistic effort was attempted. In 1897 the *Pioneer* appeared as a monthly publication; it became a weekly in 1901 and has continued ever since as the mouthpiece of student thought and activity. Its name was suggested by Dr. O. W. Nixon of the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* to suggest the spirit which he hoped the paper and the institution would always embody.

The class of '06 was the first to publish a college annual, *The Waiilatpu*, during its junior year, and its example has been followed by most junior classes except during the period of the World War. The proceeds of the annual sophomore play usually go to defray the cost of the annual published by the class in the following year. The successive issues of *The Waiilatpu* faithfully mirror the inner life of the College and afford valuable material for a history of student activities.

It is a question, which can now scarcely be settled definitely, whether a baseball team or a glee club was the first organized activity of the student body. Undoubtedly, baseball was the first sport on the campus but it was unorganized for many years and a college nine did not appear, so far as known, until the year 1893. The game was played on the field south of the old College building erected in 1883, and both faculty and students joined in the game which was played by toss up teams. Professor Louis F. Anderson brought to Whitman baseball experience gained at the University of Washington, and for a number of years played first base on the more permanent team which gradually became identified with the College, but no formal organization was ever effected and no systematic provision made for meeting the expenses of the team. There was no official manager, and the cost of uniforms when the

day of uniforms arrived was met by popular subscription among the students and the townspeople. There were no bleachers or grandstand for spectators, and those who witnessed the games were obliged to stand on the side lines or to look down on the contest from the windows of the College building. It was impossible to charge an admission fee as the field was not enclosed by a fence and, therefore, no source of revenue could be found for the upkeep of a team. Student activities were strictly subordinate to studies and might be pursued only in the vacant hours outside of the regular schedule. Although students in the college department had freedom when not actually in recitations, the students of the preparatory department who were greatly in the majority, were expected to keep regular study hours in the chapel or in various unoccupied recitation rooms under the supervision of teachers and, as their schedule extended from 8:45 A.M. until four o'clock in the afternoon with only an hour free at noon, the opportunity for athletic sports was comparatively slight. It was not possible to allow baseball games to be played during school hours when the noise would make study in the College building difficult or impossible.

The college glee club was first definitely organized in 1889 under the leadership of Professor B. S. Winchester, a graduate of Williams College, who had sung on the Williams Glee Club and was deeply musical. He had joined the Whitman faculty in the fall of 1889 as professor of natural sciences but was as much interested in the musical development of the College as in his teaching. He quickly gained a strong position of leadership among the young men of the institution and organized them into a glee club of twelve voices which gave its first public concert in 1890. Professor Winchester's musicianship and his willingness to appear with the Whitman glee club in which he was one of the bass voices, are sufficient evidence of the quality of this first club. It won high praise and helped to make the public aware of the growing self-consciousness of the young institution and the influence which it might some day exert in the life of the community. The number of available singers was small and membership was confined to men. The thought of a women's glee club had not dawned on the horizon of the College or the town and the suggestion of an all-college glee club, composed of men and women, would probably have excited suspicion if not horror.

The glee club made few public appearances. There were no funds for a concert tour and the cost of travel was too great for concerts at a distance. The time required for such concerts was also too great to make them possible, for the faculty, in the early

days of the College, would make no concession for absence from College classes and appointments for the sake of athletics or music.

The first football team was organized in 1892 by Professor Edwin S. Bishop, a graduate of Williams College, who had participated as an undergraduate student but had never played on a college team. The students at Whitman had heard of football but had never seen a game; and, when at his suggestion a ball was bought and practice begun, much comment was aroused. The game was denounced for its fierceness and danger and there was much shaking of heads among friends of the College over the violence of the game and over the passions which it would arouse. Nevertheless, an interest in football grew although it was almost impossible to find teams with which games could be arranged. In 1893 the bold step was taken of inviting the football eleven of the University of Washington to come to Walla Walla and play against the Whitman team at the latter's expense. The object was the gaining of experience. No hope of victory entered the minds of its promoters. In fact, when the University of Washington team, veterans of many games, arrived in Walla Walla, the captain of the Whitman eleven asked the captain of the Washington team to make sure that his men would play their best in order that the Whitman team might gain the utmost of experience. The weak and untried college team asked for no easy handling or kind treatment. They were buying experience for themselves and they wanted that experience to be as valuable as possible, no matter how hard or overwhelming. The victory for the University of Washington was won by a huge score, but the Whitman team felt entirely satisfied. They had profited immensely by the game, the first in which they had met a trained and experienced team. From this time on, football had an established place on the Whitman campus.

The development of athletics at Whitman has been in a large degree the work of R. V. Borleske, '10, who has been director of physical education since 1915. Himself a remarkable athlete and a man of striking personality, he sought to promote the physical development of all students. This led him to develop intramural competition between the several groups both of men and women on the campus. Intramural athletics has been an essential and carefully elaborated part of the program of physical education since 1919. The College did not go to the extreme of abandoning intercollegiate contests, but has continuously maintained a dual program, with intramural athletics and intercollegiate athletics co-operating harmoniously. Mr. Borleske's loyalty to the ideals of his alma mater and his invincible integrity have

made him an inspiring influence in the life of the College.

The artistic life of the College has largely depended upon music for expression and development. Music has been the only one of the fine arts which has been continuously cultivated in close association with the College and although the Conservatory of Music has been a distinct institution under separate management it has contributed generously to the musical life of the campus. Through its means it has been possible for the College to provide a major study in the Theory of Music which thus stands on an equality with the other arts and sciences. Moreover the voluntary musical organizations of the College, such as the glee club, the chapel choir, the orchestra and the band are directed by conservatory teachers. Since 1924 an annual choral contest has been held, open to competition by the social groups of the College, for the Howard E. Pratt and the Gena Branscombe trophy cups. The contest has helped to develop a high standard of musicianship on the part of the contestants, and has tended to develop the institution into a "singing college."

Occasionally it has been possible for the College to offer instruction in other of the fine arts than music through local teachers, but, even when this was not possible, courses were given in the history of art, richly illustrated with stereopticon slides and prints. Until an art museum is provided, education at Whitman must lack the inspiration of sculpture and painting.

A daily chapel service had been instituted by President Anderson in 1882 at the beginning of his administration and this continued for many years attended by both faculty and students. At first it was held at quarter before nine in the morning of the five working days of the week and, even after Saturday classes were inaugurated by President Eaton, chapel was held on five days only.

In 1904 the time was changed to 10 A.M., half an hour being allowed for it and the service being enriched musically by the installation of a three manual pipe organ given in memory of Mrs. Nathaniel Shipman of Hartford, Connecticut. In 1926, the period on Monday, Wednesday and Friday was used for chapel and that on Tuesday and Thursday was assigned to the Associated Students for the transaction of its business under the leadership of its student president. In 1932, chapel was reduced to one day, a half hour period at eleven o'clock being taken for it and the remaining half hour for a meeting of the Associated Students. Responsibility for the conduct of chapel rested in the hands of the President who either led it himself or asked some member of the faculty or visiting minister to lead it. The organization of a chapel

choir by the director of the conservatory of music improved the service by making possible the regular weekly rendition of a suitable anthem.

The object of the president in the conduct of chapel was to make it contribute both to the religious and the artistic life of the College. Dignified in character and elevated by noble music, it gathered all the members of the institution together for a short period of devotion and exaltation. Student attendance was required until 1933, when it became voluntary on the part of the students, although the faculty had long since made it voluntary for themselves.

The chapel service was a symbol of the consciousness that the College was a religious institution and was used to develop that consciousness. The traditions of the College were rich in inspiration and were especially brought to attention twice each year through the commemoration of the Whitman Massacre in November and by the establishment of Founders' Day in February. An annual pilgrimage to Wailatpu was for many years made by the entire College but afterwards by the freshman class at the opening of the college year. A feature of commencement was a brief religious service held at the Whitman grave on Sunday afternoon.

The religious life of the institution did not depend solely upon chapel but much more on the voluntary activities of the faculty and students, partly through organizations like the Y.W.C.A. and the Y.M.C.A. and partly through classes in biblical literature and philosophy. These latter were not devotional in character but had the effect of deepening the religious consciousness and of stimulating serious thought. But after all the religious life of any institution depends fundamentally upon the religious spirit of its leaders.

The resignation of Professor E. E. Ruby, in 1930, to enter business life was a serious loss to the College which for twenty-eight years had benefited by his unusual ability as a teacher of Latin, and by the overflowing energy of his fertile and active mind. A graduate of the University of Indiana, he had become professor of Latin at Whitman in 1903 but did not confine his interest and zeal to that department. He reorganized the college library, acted as secretary of the faculty, as registrar and as dean of the academic group. He played an important part in the establishment of fraternities at Whitman, in securing a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, and in putting into operation the principle of selective admission. He was active in the internal development of the College and exerted a strong influence in the promotion of higher standards. At commencement in 1929 the College ex-

pressed its appreciation of his long service in public exercises of recognition.

His administrative duties gradually diverted his mind from the work of teaching and at last he decided to devote himself wholly to administration and editorial work, resigning his long connection with Whitman College to accept a position with the Banta Publishing Company of Menasha, Wisconsin. Whitman College should ever be grateful to him for the lasting contribution which he made to it by his scholarship, character and untiring energy.

The College sun continued to climb in the heavens and the period of prosperity to grow brighter even through the first year of the depression; then attendance, which had reached a peak of 589 in 1930, began to recede at first slowly and then more rapidly until the nadir was reached in 1933-34 with an attendance of 450. The shadow of the depression grew darker as the loss in tuition fees and in the payment of interest on investments reduced the income of the institution, and made it impossible to pay the salaries of the faculty in full, even though a reduction of twenty per cent in their salaries had been voted by the trustees. The years 1932-33 and 1933-34 were gloomy with apprehension as a result of the widespread financial distress.

But upon the president of the College the shadow had fallen earlier, for during the last ten years of his administration he had been totally blind. He had lost the sight of one eye by a displacement of the retina after the financial campaign in 1912-14, and he lost the sight of his other eye in 1924 by the same cause, a displacement of the retina, being left in almost total blackness, with only a glimmer of light in one eye, by which he could barely distinguish light from darkness. He immediately presented his resignation to the trustees, but they refused to accept it and he kept on at his usual work attending to his administrative duties, the College correspondence, his classes in philosophy and the many calls which came to him for public addresses over the Northwest. He resigned again at the beginning of the depression and again his resignation was refused. Finally, in 1933, he insisted that his resignation be accepted, to take effect at the close of the following year, which would complete forty years of service as president of the College. It was a happy day for him when, in February, his successor was elected and a still happier day, June 18, when, after awarding eleven honorary degrees in Latin, the language which, for forty years, he had used in the graduation exercises, he turned over to the chairman of the Board of Overseers, Judge M. F. Gose, the pleasant task of inaugurating that successor, the fourth president of the College, Dr. Rudolf Alexander Clemen.

The concluding chapter will give an account of President Clemen and the beginning of his administration, but the closing events of Mr. Penrose's administration must first be sketched and its major accomplishments described.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the College and the town was jointly celebrated during five days, June 14 to June 18, during which many interesting events and exercises took place. Forty-eight colleges and universities were represented by delegates and a great crowd of alumni and out-of-town visitors was in attendance. In the amphitheater, on Saturday afternoon, a pageant of Whitman history, "Faith of Our Fathers," written by Annie Rue Robinson, '06, of Spokane, was produced by a cast of students, faculty and alumni. A kaleidoscope, "Dust, Shadow and Life," written by Isabelle Welty, '34, was produced with artistic effect by undergraduates on Monday morning. The baccalaureate sermon was preached by the Right Rev. Edward M. Cross, Episcopal bishop of Spokane, and on Sunday afternoon the alumni presented to the College two life-sized portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Penrose painted by Ernest Norling, '15, of Seattle. In the evening two alumni musicians, David Campbell, ex-'12, of Portland, pianist, and Lewis Niven, '26, of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, tenor, gave a public recital of high artistic excellence. A comedy in three acts, "You and I," by Philip Barry, was presented on Friday evening by some of the alumni who had been college dramatic stars. A pioneer parade on Friday morning presented interestingly the costumes, life and customs of pioneer days, and was followed by an interesting historical lecture, illustrated by many unique stereopticon slides, "A Pictorial History of Walla Walla," given by Mr. Pal Clark to a packed audience in the Keylor Grand Theatre.

The customary events of commencement took place as usual but the special feature of the celebration, which gave most pleasure to Mr. Penrose, was the luncheon in honor of Mrs. Penrose tendered by the Walla Walla Branch of the American Association of University Women on Saturday noon, attended by five hundred women of the Northwest. Places had been set for two hundred and fifty, but more than five hundred swarmed into the hotel and more than a hundred were turned away. It was an impressive demonstration of the respect and affection with which Mrs. Penrose was regarded by the women who knew her. She had been actively helpful in the College, the church and the community and had endeared herself to all who knew her by her wisdom, patience, humor, tact, sympathy and unfailing fairness. Successive generations of college students who had come to know her gifts

as an adviser came to call her Mother Penrose, not because of her age but because they had discovered in her those eternal qualities of motherhood—understanding and sympathy—which made them turn to her in times of personal need or perplexity. She had inherited from her distinguished father, Judge Nathaniel Shipman of the United States Court of Appeals, what might be called the judicial temperament. She listened patiently and reflectively to the statement of the case, asked questions intelligently to throw further light upon the situation, but, instead of rendering a decision as a judge might do, discussed all the matter fully with the anxious student and gave such advice as the case might require. She had served as national president of the Y.W.C.A. from 1913 to 1915 and has been a member of its National Board since 1918. The college faculty in 1914 requested the Trustees to confer upon her the honorary degree of Master of Arts, and this was done without her husband's knowledge. It was a great surprise and pleasure to him when, at commencement, he found among the recipients of honorary degrees the one whom he had loved best and relied on most during his entire administration. The mother of six children, three girls and three boys, all graduates of Whitman College, Mrs. Penrose had brought up her own children wisely and successfully, but her personality was too many sided and vital to be confined to the walls of her own home. She showed to all the same qualities of unfailing kindness, of wise insight and of genuine friendliness which made her own children honor her supremely.

Mr. Penrose would like to have been thought of as a great teacher for he had studied under Mark Hopkins and had inherited from him a great reverence for the function of the teacher as supreme. But the distractions of his administrative duties and the many calls which were made upon him for public service of various kinds, prevented him from giving himself whole-heartedly to that teaching of philosophy which was his deepest interest. He was always a teacher, except when called away by the financial needs of the College, and carried always ten or twelve hours a week of regular class room instruction in philosophy besides giving occasional courses in other subjects such as psychology, the history of education or Greek literature. He regularly taught logic, introduction to philosophy, ethics, history of philosophy, comparative religion and other courses in philosophy when called for. It was his custom also to give, during the last fifteen years of his administration, a weekly lecture to the freshman class on the problems of college life, the course at first running through the year,

but later being confined to the first semester. He liked to have a few advanced students gather at his house on Monday evenings and discuss Plato's Dialogues, read in English by the class. It seemed to him that the attainment of the philosophic spirit was the especial need of American life and education, and he was happy, when, on his resignation, the Trustees continued him as professor of philosophy, leaving him free to devote himself wholeheartedly to the teaching of philosophy without other responsibility.

He was admired and even liked by a good many people but loved only by a faithful few who were not repelled by his habitual irony nor bewildered by the humor, often sardonic, which constantly played in the background of his speech. He had not many intimate friends, for there was in him a natural reserve which made it impossible for him to give himself in easy friendship, and he remained at bottom spiritually aloof though friendly. He never considered the effect which any action of his might have upon his popularity, either with students or with the general public, but maintained his independence of thought and expression regardless of the possible consequences to him. He was therefore never very popular either on the campus or in the town, for popularity attends only those who agree with the crowd, but he was respected for his independence and sometimes his judgments were afterward approved. He took an active part in combatting the 30-10 plan, which would have shifted the incidence of taxation from the county to the state, and again, when the Ku Klux Klan move was at its height, he publicly voiced his disapproval of it for its secrecy and appeal to fear. When, in the neighboring state of Oregon, a movement was started to overthrow the parochial school system by a law requiring that all children should attend the public schools, he again expressed himself strongly and won the appreciation of Catholic leaders by his recognition of the unconstitutionality of the proposed law. Later a decision by the Supreme Court of the United States officially confirmed his judgment. When he was invited by the state legislature of Washington to discuss, on the floor of the House, the question of approving the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, he opposed the measure on constitutional and practical grounds, maintaining that the abolition of child labor, however desirable, ought to be attained by the action of the several states and not by constitutional amendment.

The motto of the Penrose administration might be found in the lines

"Tis not in mortals to command success.
But we'll do more, Sempronius, we'll deserve it."

Certain underlying principles were in the mind of Mr. Penrose during the long years in which the little college slowly grew in size, in strength, and in reputation. He did not try to formulate them, but they were the foundations upon which he built.

1. He believed in the small college. The English idea of education, as personal contact with living men as well as with books, possessed him, and the influence of Mark Hopkins and of Williams College continued to be felt. He sought to have the faculty maintain close human relations with the students. The spirit of the small college was conceived to be necessarily a spirit of friendliness, to be carefully cultivated and faithfully maintained.

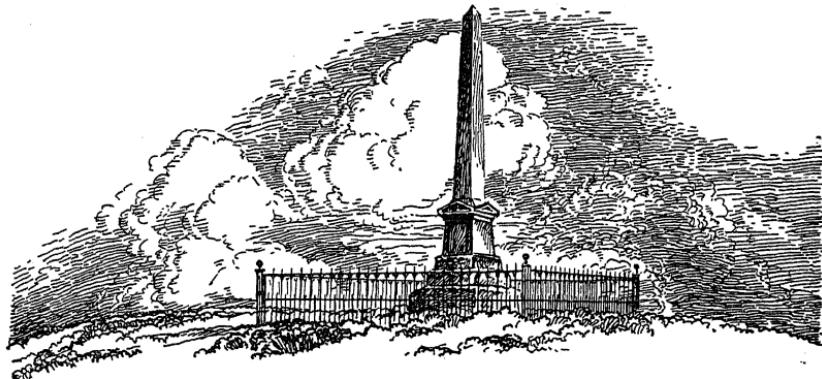
2. He believed that a faculty of high personal quality was more important than costly buildings. The effort of the College has steadily been to obtain and to keep in its service well-trained, experienced, and warm-hearted teachers. It was impossible to pay them generous, or even adequate, salaries, but they were honored and treated all as equals, were given increasing responsibility, and were expected to enter fully into the life of the College. After a year of trial the new member of the faculty was made to feel that his tenure of office was secure, and that he belonged to the College for as long time as he continued to render it faithful service.

3. He believed in developing the Christian life of the students by the creation of a Christian atmosphere of helpfulness, friendliness and reverence rather than by dogmatic teaching or emphasis upon theological beliefs. He was never satisfied with the religious life of the College, but he was never discouraged over it. It was simple, informal, and honest, though often lacking in deep earnestness or moral elevation. Students who come to college conceiving of religion solely in terms of individual experience or belief, cannot easily acquire a socialized conception of religion, interpreting it as generous service and large-minded faith. Moreover, the reconstruction of belief in the light of modern knowledge is a problem which the conscientious Christian college cannot avoid. In this matter Whitman has tried to render honest service. Every student before graduating has been required, for the past thirty years, to study the fundamentals of faith and conduct, taking a year's course in which philosophy and religion and life were freely discussed. The conducting of this class was the chief joy of the president during his entire administration, his aim being to deepen thought and to increase moral purpose in all those whom the College should send out into the world of work and need. Whitman

College has been criticized as too conservative, and too liberal, but always it has desired to develop in the lives of its students intellectual honesty, scientific method, and warm-hearted loyalty to Christian ideals.

4. He was never satisfied with the College in any respect. When prosperity seemed to have overtaken the institution with assurances of abiding success, he was secretly its severest critic, planning how improvement might be made within practical bounds. He was an opportunist while also a critic. Impulsive by nature, eager for change, the years had made him patient. Often disappointed in his hopes and expectations, always finding the actuality to fall short of the possibility, he learned to adjust his anticipations to the probable, and to make haste slowly. But through all the years of his administration he had strong and far-reaching purposes, though he kept his own counsel, burned his own smoke, and tried never to dishearten others by letting them know his own discouragement.

5. His faith was in God more than in men. This was the ultimate explanation of his unwavering dedication to Whitman College. He had become persuaded that the institution, with its extraordinary history of romance and consecrated devotion, was included within the divine purpose and appointed to a high destiny. He felt that the favor of God would rest upon it, and that it was his business to make it worthy of that favor. He said little about this to other people, but it lay at the bottom of his heart. Believing that Christian education was the most practical way to advance that higher civilization which is called the Kingdom of God, and having at the outset of his life given himself to the advancement of that Kingdom, he was happy in finding himself engaged in a work which was entirely congenial and which belonged in the far-reaching purposes of God. It was this confidence which armed him against all disappointments and gave him strength to endure the tardy years.



CHAPTER XI

ORGANIZATION

Whoever would understand the full significance of the story which has thus far been told must acquaint himself with the organization which was slowly built up during the seventy-five years which followed the granting of the first charter to Whitman Seminary in 1859. The higher forms of life must have a skeleton to give them strength and stability, and the organization which an institution perfects in the course of its development is the necessary skeleton by which its evolution is determined.

The original name of the corporation was "the President and Trustees of Whitman Seminary," the president being one of the nine trustees who was elected to act as chairman and to sign all legal documents approved by the trustees. By the amended charter adopted in 1883 the name of the Corporation became "The Board of Trustees of Whitman College," the president not having been named in the title but having the same functions. The office of the president of the College appears for the first time in the amended charter which says "The Board of Trustees shall have powers of appointment and removal of the President of the College, professors, tutors, teachers, etc.," and again "the president and professors of this institution shall constitute the Faculty." The duties of the president of the College were not defined, and he was not explicitly made a member of the Board of Trustees, but President Anderson was made a member of the Board of Trustees and he—and for a time President Eaton—acted as secretary of the Executive Committee of the Board of

Trustees. Not until a constitution was adopted, in 1908, was the position of the president of the College defined as "ex-officio member of the Board of Trustees, a member of a Christian Church, and the presiding officer of the Faculty." "The President shall preside at all meetings of the Faculty. He shall appoint a vice-president pro tempore to preside in his absence, shall have power to call meetings of the Faculty or Board of Trustees, and shall be the executive head of the institution. He shall make recommendations from time to time to the Board of Trustees and Board of Overseers and shall nominate new professors, tutors and teachers to be elected by the Board of Trustees."

Of course no one can fully define or describe all the activities of the college president. Like Briareus he must have a hundred arms, and like Atlas he must carry the heavens on his shoulders.

The office of the dean, which the constitution of 1908 created, was intended for Professor Hendrick and was never filled by anyone else. It ingeniously defined his duties: "The duties of the Dean of the College shall be determined by the President after mutual consideration between the President and the Dean from time to time." The deans who were later appointed as heads of departmental groups, and, still later, of administrative groups, were quite different in character and function.

The internal organization of the Board of Trustees began at once with the creation of an Executive Committee of five members with President Anderson as chairman. It consisted of the four local members of the Board, the four out-of-town members not being available for the frequent meetings which must be held while the development of the institution was proceeding rapidly. President Eaton and President Penrose also acted as chairmen of the Executive Committee which did not pass out of existence until 1908, when the Board of Overseers was organized. The members of the Board of Trustees were elected for an indefinite term, and it was not until 1898 that they voluntarily limited their terms of office to four years with the privilege of re-election, the president of the college being alone excepted from this limitation of tenure as an ex-officio member. Each year two members of the Board were to be elected or re-elected.

The Board of Trustees has control of all the property and affairs of the institution including the appointment and removal of officers and teachers and the making of rules and regulations for the government and discipline of the students. It has power, upon recommendation of the faculty, to confer "all such degrees and honors as are conferred by colleges and universities of the United States, and such others (having reference to the course of

study and the attainments of the applicants) as they may deem proper." Its power to grant degrees, whether honorary or in course, is thus made to depend upon the recommendation of the faculty, which is given the initiative in such matters.

The powers and duties of the faculty, consisting of the president of the college and the professors, are threefold: "To arrange the courses of study, and to take the proper measures to enforce the rules and regulations enacted by the Board of Trustees for the government and discipline of the students, and to suspend and expel offenders as may be deemed necessary." The arrangements of the courses of study or the making of the curriculum is thus left exclusively with the faculty, but it, however, has no power to establish new departments of study, which is explicitly entrusted by the constitution to the Board of Overseers. (Art. III—Sec. 2.)

It will be noted that "the faculty" consists of the professors, no mention being made of instructors or other members. The distinction has not been regarded as important up to the present time, and it has been the custom for all members of the faculty, assistant professors and instructors, to vote upon all questions brought before the faculty for action, a custom which perhaps has sometimes led to action being taken by the entire faculty, through the votes of its instructors, which would not have been taken if the professors alone had voted. Under President Anderson's administration all teachers were regarded as professors and given that honorific title. But as the institution grew in size and the number of the faculty increased it became necessary, if for no other reason than economy, to appoint instructors as well as professors. Later assistant professors and associate professors were appointed, but the old-time democracy still prevailed and all teachers were regarded as professors and entitled immediately to the voting privilege.

The evolution of the faculty for administrative purposes took place slowly but by definite steps. At first there was no organization, the president presiding at the meetings of the faculty and all members of the faculty voting upon all questions. As long as the faculty consisted of only ten or a dozen persons this simple, democratic method worked satisfactorily although faculty meetings were long and often tiresome because of the multiplicity of detail submitted to them all together. As the College grew in size and the number of teachers was increased it became advisable to appoint temporary special committees for separate occasions and presently standing committees for specific functions which gradually were recognized as important. The appointment of such

standing committees was first recognized in the catalogue of 1897-98 which names nine committees, generally with three members each, although the number of the faculty was still small and everyone had to serve on more than one committee. What functions had become recognized as important appears from the list of these committees, which comprises: Discipline and General Regulations; Lectures, Appointments and Calendar; Library, Chapel and Study Hours; Classification, Registration and Conditions; Entrance Requirements and Accredited Schools; Catalogue; Student Organizations; Scholarship and Degrees; Athletics. These committees were not given power to act but made their recommendations to the faculty which still enacted all legislation. Faculty meetings were still long and often tedious.

In the period of unrest and enlargement, which followed the discussion of the Greater Whitman plan and the organization of the Board of Overseers in 1908, a new step in faculty organization was taken to promote efficiency of administration and to increase the responsibility of the individual members of the faculty for the prompt and effective regulation of college affairs. At first the faculty was divided into four departmental groups of allied subjects comprising: I. Philosophy, History, Political Science; II. Language and Literature; III. Mathematics and Science; and IV. Engineering. This plan was found to be impracticable for administrative purposes, however logical it might be as a classification of the curriculum. The members of the faculty were opposed to it because all the heads of the several departments felt themselves to be of equal rank and feared the effects of promoting one of their number to a position of over-lordship. One of the ablest and most respected members of the faculty said that he would resign from the institution if the head of another department in his group was appointed to supervise his work and direct his actions. The feeling was so strong that, although for a time the departmental groups and their deans were nominally retained for convenience of classification, organization of administrative groups was perfected, each with a dean at its head, to act as chairman. The three administrative groups were the Academic Group with Dean Ruby as its chairman, the Internal Relations with Dean Haines as its chairman, and the External Relations Group with Dean Bratton as its chairman. These three being also for a time deans of the Language and Literature Group, the Philosophy and Political Science Group, and the Mathematics and Sciences Group, respectively. The new plan went into effect in 1912 and was continued to the end of the Penrose administration, proving an effective measure to care for all phases of college

life and to develop a sense of responsibility and of co-operation among the members of the faculty.

Each of these administrative groups had jurisdiction over eight or ten specific functions, to which individual members of the faculty were assigned. Each administrative group was supposed to meet monthly, or at the call of its chairman, and to report its proceedings to the faculty at their monthly meeting. If the actions of the administrative groups were not disapproved by the faculty, they were accepted as the law of the institution. The burden of administration was thus lifted from the shoulders of the faculty as a whole and distributed among the several administrative groups, while in each group the individual member of the faculty made his reputation by the effectiveness with which he did his specific duty.

This mode of organization is unusual and, so far as known, peculiar to Whitman. Most institutions assign all administrative duties to special officers and expect the members of the faculty at large to devote themselves to their teaching and to such committee work as may be occasionally assigned to them. Whitman, under the presidency of Mr. Penrose, definitely avoided this customary solution of the problem of administration, believing that it was better for the ultimate good of the institution to throw the responsibility upon all the members of the faculty, rather than to confine it to the shoulders of a few specially appointed officers. The Board of Deans cared for the discipline of the College, but the general administration was referred to the several groups, of which the deans were chairmen.

If it be objected that this distribution of administrative functions was not likely to produce the highest efficiency, the answer might be made that it worked well in developing a democratic sense of common responsibility among the members of the faculty and did not overemphasize the position of the deans, whose overlordship is often resented by their subordinates. An arrogant dean can make his colleagues most uncomfortable and easily render ineffective this plan of divided responsibility. Wise and co-operative deans can make it rarely effective, and it is due to the co-operation of the Board of Deans during the last two decades of Mr. Penrose's presidency that the effective administration of the College and the happiness of the College faculty were due.

What functions came to be regarded as important is indicated in the catalogue of 1934, which lists them as follows: In the Academic Group—Degrees, Examinations, Exceptional Students, Faculty Meetings, Library, Point System, Scholarship; in the Internal Life Group—Athletic Eligibility, Calendar, Depart-

mental Clubs, Dramatic Organizations, Health, Inter-collegiate Contests, Literary Organizations, Music and Musical Organizations, Physical Training, Religious Life and Organizations, Social Life and Organizations; and in the group of External Relations—Alumni, Community Relations, Extension, High Schools, Lectures, Public Relations, Publicity. Under this unique plan committees were dispensed with. Each member of the faculty, including instructors, had a specific function and responsibility, on whose operation he reported to the meeting of his group. The group in return reported to the faculty at its monthly business meeting, and unless the faculty definitely refused to endorse the action of the group, or the group to endorse the action of the individual officer, his decisions were official and represented the administration.

The plan would be impossible in a large institution but it has worked well at Whitman, developing a sense of responsibility on the part of the members of the faculty and giving to the students the advantage of knowing whom to consult on any phase of college life.

The Board of Deans also became the disciplinary committee of the College. It was the cabinet of the president, who presided over its meetings and presented the agenda. He, the dean of women, and the three heads of the administrative groups became thus an executive committee of the faculty, especially in matters of discipline, and reported their actions to the faculty at its monthly business meeting. The secretary of the faculty was also the secretary of the Board of Deans. The faculty, thus relieved of irksome matters of discipline, always irritating to the academic mind, was glad to relinquish this function to the president and the Board of Deans, although it was recognized that the charter entrusted discipline to the faculty as a whole.

During the latter half of Mr. Penrose's administration it became the custom to hold two faculty meetings a month, one for business only, when the groups reported their transactions to the faculty for approval, and new business was discussed, the other a monthly educational, or pedagogical meeting, the object of which was to interest the faculty in current educational topics and to broaden their professional horizon. The plan cannot be said to have worked very well because of the difficulty in securing members of the faculty who would present papers or discussions to the faculty of such a character as to win their interest, but the plan has interesting possibilities. The likelihood in the case of the member of a college faculty is that he will become absorbed in the work of his own department and will fail to acquaint himself with what

is going on in the educational world. If every member of the faculty were required to read a current educational journal of high character, the need for such information and enlightenment would not be felt, but since it is impracticable to require faculty members to do this, the method of holding a monthly educational meeting is advisable. Unfortunately for its success, however, attendance at faculty meetings is voluntary, and often those members who would benefit most by a paper or discussion are not present to get the benefit. A wider interest might be developed by the engagement of outside speakers. The members of the faculty usually showed more interest in the monthly business meeting and attended it in larger numbers. It was always opened with prayer followed by the reading of the minutes of the last meeting to refresh the memory of those who had attended it or to inform those who had been absent concerning what had been done. Then each administrative group reported through its secretary concerning its actions either by reading its own minutes or by a summary statement. The Board of Deans likewise reported its actions through its secretary. Thus the entire faculty assembled in the monthly business meeting, was kept fully informed of all that had been done and its new members were made acquainted with the work of the institution. The education of the faculty into a consciousness of their common task was thus brought about, a result which was exceedingly important to Mr. Penrose with his conception of the high place of the faculty in the life of the institution.

Perhaps the organization of the Board of Overseers in 1908 was sufficiently described in Chapter IX, but its objects may be summarized here. It sought to enlarge the influence of the College by giving it a wider constituency than could be secured by a board of only nine trustees and yet it had to preserve inviolate the College charter of 1883 because of the precious privilege—immunity from taxation—which it granted. If, as afterwards happened—by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States—this immunity from taxation had been lost or threatened, a new charter might have been sought, which would have made a different plan of organization possible. The problem of practically increasing the number of trustees without violating the charter which limited their number to nine was ingeniously solved by making the trustees members of a larger body, the Overseers, and so tying the two groups together that they acted in perfect harmony, the trustees becoming in effect the executive committee of the Board of Overseers answerable to it for all actions and yet ultimately responsible in law for all the decisions of the Overseers.

The Board of Trustees met each month and the Board of Overseers once a year but the Trustees sent the minutes of their monthly meetings to each Overseer and kept him fully informed concerning their actions and the state of the College. When therefore the Overseers met at commencement for their annual meeting they did not need to have the minutes of the Board of Trustees read to them because they had already read them and could proceed to the transaction of necessary business including the reports of their standing committees. The continuous interest of the Overseers in the College was enhanced by this means and at their annual meeting much time was saved which would otherwise be required for explanation and routine.

The Board of Overseers has organized itself into committees elected at commencement. It has a chairman and vice-chairman for each of the three states of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, and its secretary is the secretary of the Board of Trustees, but it cannot be truly said that the standing committees which it has appointed have in most cases worked effectively. Non-resident members of committees are apt to forget their responsibilities and to discover at commencement that they had previously been assigned to some specific function on which they were expected to report. While the individual members of the Board have been most prompt in rendering assistance to the College when called upon, the committees of the Board have tended to exist on paper.

How well the Board of Overseers has functioned can be judged by the printed minutes of their annual meetings and by the character of the men who have been its members. It has had only three chairmen since 1908, Hon. George Turner, LL.D., of Spokane, former U. S. Senator from Washington, a member of the Alaska Boundary Commission appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt, and a distinguished international lawyer; Judge Thomas Burke, LL.D., Seattle's foremost citizen, whose career was sketched in the preceding chapter; and Hon. Mack F. Gose, LL.D., of Olympia, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Washington. Among the deceased members of the Board have been included United States Senator J. F. Brady, U. S. Judge F. S. Dietrich, U. S. Senator F. R. Gooding, Mrs. J. P. Vollmer and James E. Babb, LL.D., of Idaho; T. B. Wilcox, W. W. Cotton, A. L. Mills, Robert Livingston, and W. M. Ladd of Oregon; ex-Governor John H. McGraw, U. S. Senator Levi Ankeny, U. S. Judge C. H. Hanford, W. T. Dovell, Bishop Frederick W. Keator, Mrs. J. P. Weyerhaeuser, Dr. H. P. James, John A. Finch, A. B. Campbell, D. L. Huntington of Washington. The present members of the Board are no less distinguished for their public service

and their loyalty to the College, of which many of them are alumni.

It only remains for this chapter to speak of the peculiar relations which the Whitman Conservatory of Music sustains to the College. The Conservatory of Music is closely related to the College but instructors under control of the Board of Trustees and supervised by a committee of the Overseers on which the director of the conservatory and the president of the College are ex-officio members. The teachers of the conservatory are not members of the College faculty unless they teach courses such as Theory of Music for which college credit is given by the college faculty, in which case they are listed in the college catalogue as college instructors. They then receive from the college treasury compensation for such college work, but the other receipts from their teaching go into the conservatory treasury, which is entirely separate from that of the College, though both are under the control of the Board of Trustees. Such college organizations as glee clubs, orchestra and band are usually directed by conservatory instructors, but are subject to the regulations made by the College faculty. The selection of conservatory teachers is made by the director and the president, subject to the approval of the Conservatory Committee and the Board of Trustees. It has always been the intention of the administration that the conservatory should be self-supporting, and this has usually been the case except that no rent has been charged for the use of the conservatory building. It would be fair in estimating the overhead costs of the conservatory to charge as rental a fair interest on the sum invested in the building.

Until President Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching made his invaluable analysis of the College and its component elements as set forth in Chapter IX, the Conservatory of Music had been regarded as an integral part of the College and its teachers as members of the College faculty, but, immediately after Dr. Pritchett had shown the undesirability of having a School of Music and a Preparatory Academy as integral parts of the institution the Conservatory of Music was separated from the College and the Academy was soon abandoned. The problem of maintaining a Conservatory of Music which should be distinct from the College and yet intimately associated with it was solved in the way which has just been described.

It is hoped that this chapter's survey of the several organizations, which constitute the skeleton around which Whitman College has developed will give sufficient evidence of the intelligence and thoughtfulness which gradually brought these organizations into being. The growth of the College has not been the work of chance.



CHAPTER XII

ACHIEVEMENT

What most students of American education would regard as the distinctive marks of the Penrose administration were regarded by Mr. Penrose as entirely secondary. They would regard as significant:

1. The abandonment of its preparatory department by Whitman before any other college in the Pacific Northwest ventured on so bold a step.
2. The adoption of the Comprehensive Examination system in 1913 before any other American college had adopted it for general use.
3. The adoption of the principle of Selective Admission in 1921 whereby the College limited its attendance in order to improve the quality of its work.
4. The requirement that all freshman boys from out of town must live in Lyman House, the dormitory built for their use. The fraternities at first strongly opposed this but discovered after a few years that it was well for the freshmen to get imbued with the College spirit of democracy before living in a fraternity house.
5. The unique solution of the sorority housing problem put into operation in Prentiss Hall in 1925. The criticism which this plan met at first has long since disappeared.

These are tangible and visible assets, but the three-fold ambition of Mr. Penrose was the selection of a first rate faculty, the development of a first rate college of Liberal Arts and Pure Sciences, and the creation of an atmosphere of friendliness in which the students of that college might find the most favorable opportunity for developing their characters and their ideals. The

success of his administration must be measured by the extent to which these three ambitions were attained.

The success of a college president is measured by the faculty which he secures and by the quality of the men and women whom he brings into the service of his institution, rather than by the funds which he obtains for buildings and endowment. To be sure, these latter are important for the retaining of great teachers but they are only a means to this end, and their importance should not be overestimated. The growth of Whitman College in attendance, in campus and buildings and endowment was continuous and encouraging but not notable. At its peak in 1930, the attendance had risen to 589 college students besides additional students in the affiliated Conservatory of Music. The campus and buildings were valued at \$715,991.24, and the endowment at \$1,199,983.87. Since the administration began with only a handful of students, with three wooden buildings on six and one-half acres of campus, with no endowment whatsoever, it deserves credit for the increase in these particulars, but is not entitled to any noteworthy credit.

In the small college the selection of the faculty must rest ultimately with the president. He will seek advice perhaps from the members of his faculty and will use every agency available for the discovery of the teachers he needs, but he dare not shift the responsibility to other shoulders lest he surrender his chief prerogative. The administration of Mr. Penrose must be first judged by this test.

The wise college president will distinguish between men whose primary interest is teaching and those whose primary ambition is research. It may be possible, once in a great while, to find a rare man who combines both interests, but the finding of great teachers is the president's first and highest duty, and by this, in the long run, he should be judged. It is the fashion at the present time to lay stress upon the possession of a Ph.D. degree as an evidence of ability for research, but it ought to be recognized that this degree, however valuable, gives no indication of teaching skill, and that a man may be a truly great teacher who has done a comparatively small amount of post-graduate work, and who has not done, or perhaps even desired to do, research work.

It is difficult to determine in advance the marks of a great teacher. He must be found in the midst of his teaching and must be proven by trial and by the results of his teaching as shown by his pupils. Popularity is not the measure of success, but rather the stirring of pupils' minds and the awakening of that intellectual curiosity and wonder and reverence which mark the genuine scholar. If the true aim of a college is the making of scholars rather

than the turning out of graduates, however mediocre, then the securing of great teachers, who, themselves possessing scholarship, inspire others to seek scholarship as the best gift, is indispensable to the successful college and the supreme function of the college president.

The quality of the faculty which Mr. Penrose gathered around him is best indicated by the records which their students made in post graduate work at the great universities of the world. With scarcely an exception, they all received their advanced degrees in the minimum time required for the graduates of those universities themselves, and showed a clearness of thinking and an earnestness of purpose which aroused favorable comment from the authorities of the universities. The reputation of the College as an institution of high scholarship was based upon the actual achievements of these graduates, who were not a chosen few but a large proportion of the student body. The impulse to do post graduate work having for many years been a Whitman tradition, statistics show that an unusually large proportion of the graduates carry on post-graduate work, forty per cent of the men who have graduated at Whitman being in this class.

In 1919 Dr. Henry Suzzalo, then president of the University of Washington, said in a public address at Walla Walla: "I knew Whitman College almost in the pioneer days when the institutions of the Northwest had scarcely accepted the standards of the eastern colleges and universities. One of my particular tasks as chairman of the graduate committee of Columbia University was to pass upon the institutions of the West and I always remember that whenever anyone came from Whitman College there was no doubt about crediting that graduate at Columbia."

The institutions which Whitman graduates have preferred for postgraduate work have been Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Yale, Harvard, Chicago, University of Pennsylvania, Michigan, Minnesota, California, Wisconsin, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Stanford and the California Institute of Technology. Several have held Rhodes Scholarships at Oxford and many scholarships and fellowships have been held in the institutions listed above, as well as in others, including fellowships granted by the Guggenheim Foundation and the National Research Council.

Out of sixty National Research Fellowships in Physical Science, three were held in one year by Whitman graduates. They have had four Guggenheim Fellowships for special research abroad. Four have represented the United States at Oxford on Rhodes Scholarships. One was made a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society (F.R.G.S.) of Great Britain for research in China and

Tibet. One, a woman, because of distinguished work in radium research was the American woman chosen to receive Madam Curie, the discoverer of radium. One is an eminent Arabic scholar in the Near East. The youngest woman ever to read a research paper before the International Astronomical Association, and one of the Rockefeller Institute's experts in tropical diseases, are Whitman graduates.

The number of Whitman graduates is small, not more than 1,500, but the success which they, both men and women, have attained in professional, scientific and business life has been remarkable. In 1930, Professor C. C. Maxey, Ph.D., made a careful study of their records which was published in a pamphlet "What Whitman Graduates are Doing." He found that although or because Whitman teaches only the fundamentals of the Arts and Sciences a surprising number of its graduates have won distinction in the fields of Law, Medicine, Engineering, Pure and Applied Science, the Ministry, Public Service, Business, Banking, Investments, Brokerage, Personnel Administration, Fine Arts, Journalism and Teaching, both in colleges and secondary schools.

The University of Illinois gave official notice on April 19, 1916, that after careful examination it had rated Whitman College in its "A" class of institutions. The granting of the chapter of Phi Beta Kappa in 1919 showed the esteem in which the College was held by the ninety-two leading universities and colleges of that time. The Association of American Universities places Whitman College upon the list of American institutions to be recommended to foreign universities.

The records of the graduates are the surest measure of the worth of the faculty but the professional work which the members of Whitman's faculty have pursued is worth noting. Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Michigan, Indiana, Chicago, Northwestern, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Oregon, California, Stanford, Toronto, Oxford, the Sorbonne, Vienna and Berlin are included in the list of institutions where they have studied.

How they are regarded by some of their students is suggested by the two following typical illustrations. One man who, after graduation at Whitman, had gone to Massachusetts Institute of Technology for engineering work and had graduated at the head of his class there, said, "Of course, Whitman cannot be compared with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in regard to buildings and equipment, but there is no one at 'Tech' who can compare with Professor Brown." Another brilliant graduate in mathematics said, "At the University of California I found none to surpass Professor Bratton, and only one who might perhaps be con-

sidered his equal." Similar comments concerning other members of the faculty might be given, but these will serve to show the impression which was made upon the minds of some of its most discriminating students by their instructors. This faculty was ill-paid, hard-worked, and subjected to many limitations in equipment and comfort. Many of them received invitations from other institutions to leave Whitman at larger salaries, yet they declined the invitations for some strange reason which seemed peculiar to the Whitman faculty. They seemed to like Whitman and to want to stay there despite attractive offers elsewhere. The average tenure of office for the entire faculty in 1934 was eleven years, not including the name of Professor L. F. Anderson, who had been connected with the institution since 1882 and was still carried in the catalogue as Professor of Greek although he had not done regular teaching for several years. Considering the poverty of the institution, it seems remarkable that the members of the faculty should show such devotion to it.

Perhaps the reason for their loyalty lay in the fact that at Whitman they had both freedom and responsibility. When a member of the faculty had been appointed and tried out by a year of probation he found himself enjoying perfect academic freedom. No one undertook to tell him what he should teach or how; it was assumed that he knew his business and would do it whole-heartedly. If, as was rarely found, he did not have his heart in his work, he was quickly got rid of, but the members of the faculty were given to understand upon their first engagement that they were not subjected to surveillance nor regarded with suspicion. It was assumed that they were capable, earnest instructors desirous of promoting the best interests of the institution.

How this attitude affected the members of the faculty was told a few years ago by one of its members still the honored head of one of its influential departments; one of the most thoughtful members of the faculty, he said; "In the past fifteen years I have taught in two institutions, one a small college, the other a large state university. As compared with Whitman both were prison houses. In both there was either fear or defiance on the part of both faculty and students."

But this freedom was not without its responsibility. Every member of the faculty was given a specific function in the administration and was expected to do his best to make it effective. The faculty was organized with this object in view, as has been described in the previous chapter. At the first meeting of the faculty in the fall term the list of faculty appointments was read by the President and approved by vote of the faculty, assign-

ing a specific function to each member. The attempt was made to cover all the functions of the college life so that someone might be responsible for the proper conduct of each. Each member of the faculty, in addition to his teaching work, was made individually responsible for part of the administration and was encouraged to take the initiative in measures for the good of the institution.

In 1933 at the suggestion of President Henry Suzzalo, a report on the Educational Development and Influence of Whitman College was submitted to the Carnegie Corporation by a special committee consisting of Professor W. M. Proctor, Ph.D., of Stanford University, Dean W. A. Bratton, Sc.D., and Dean C. C. Maxey, Ph.D., the last two being members of the Whitman faculty. Among other things they said:

The contribution which the members of the faculty have made to this higher educational development has been made possible by their unusual length of service and by the intellectual freedom which they have enjoyed. Excluding the oldest member, now in his fifty-second year of service and practically, though not technically, emeritus, the average tenure of office at the present time is eleven years. The average of the heads of departments is eighteen years. Such continuity of service has been a characteristic feature of Whitman College.

An unusual degree of academic freedom has prevailed at Whitman. Not only has there been tolerance, but members of the faculty and students as well have been encouraged to free and open expression of opinion on all questions. Persons of all religious faiths have been welcomed on the faculty and have been permitted to express their views without restriction. Exponents of every form of political and economic doctrine have been invited to speak at the College and students and faculty have been urged to hear them. Not once has a member of the Faculty been dismissed or persecuted in any way for an expression of opinion on religion, politics or any other controversial subject. Not once has a student group of any kind been refused permission to use the College campus or buildings for any sort of public discussion. This freedom is the result of a well-considered policy springing from the conviction that freedom is a better antidote for error than suppression. Knowing they have freedom, the faculty and students have valued it highly and abused it rarely.

One of the very attractive features in a professor's work at Whitman is the fine spirit of academic freedom which flourishes here. The instructional staff is singularly free, not merely as to what shall be believed, but what shall be taught and the manner of teaching. All these matters are left to the best judgment of the teachers. These statements are true so far as all questions of religious opinion are concerned. They are equally true in the field of applied science and also in the more debatable field of economic and political science. Doubtless it is because of this broad tolerance of opinion that the spirit of academic freedom is not abused. Ex-

treme conservatism certainly finds no congenial atmosphere in the life of Whitman College, nor does advanced radicalism have any place. The temper of the College seems to be an eager desire to be rationally progressive. We believe there is a real purpose to look problems squarely in the face and then to seek a permanently constructive solution of them.

This last judgment is confirmed by the verdict of one who stood outside the College though closely connected with it, the late Judge Thomas Burke of Seattle who was a member of the Board of Overseers from its organization, and, for the last six years of his life chairman of the Board. He said: "The number of graduates which Whitman College has sent out is not large, but it has had in remarkable degree the qualities of mental poise combined with moral purpose. This well-known fact is not a matter of accident but is the result of forces deliberately set at work upon the campus in the lives of the undergraduate students."

The seriousness of the faculty and their devotion to their work is partly the cause and partly the effect of the system of comprehensive examinations which they early adopted and which perhaps affected them even more deeply than it did the students who were obliged by it to study with increased thoroughness and insight. In an article published in *School and Society*, March 18, 1933, Mr. Penrose said:

On April 28, 1913, I proposed to the faculty of Whitman College, "that after this year each student should be required in the last semester of his senior year to pass examinations in the whole work of his major study, those to be the only examinations in that semester, to be given at the discretion of the major professor." The matter was referred to a special committee of the faculty whose report was adopted on May 26. "After this year all students shall be required to take in the second semester of the senior year an examination covering all the work done in their major subject or subjects."

The experiment in college education thus proposed went into effect with the class of 1914 and has been in operation continuously since that time. Its scope has broadened and deepened, but there has been no wavering in the decision of the faculty to make graduation from the college an achievement not easily attained, the culmination of an education which should be thorough and comprehensive.

The plan thus inaugurated was not devised for "honors" students, but for all candidates for graduation. It ignored the English distinction between "honors" and "pass" students and boldly decided that all graduates of Whitman College should be in a sense "honors" students, thus limiting the number of its graduates but raising their quality.

In the *Educational Review* for June, 1917, I presented a report, "A New Requirement for College Graduation," which gave the results of the experiment at Whitman up to that time. It explained the object of the plan

to redeem American college education from its acknowledged choppiness—the teaching of separate subjects for a semester only and examining students on only a semester's work—and reported the reactions of those graduates on whom the new plan had been tried. It may be of interest to trace the development of the experiment during the past eighteen years and to see what its effects have been upon the faculty and their methods of instruction.

When the college adopted this new plan of major or comprehensive examinations as a prerequisite for graduation it entered on a course which, inevitably, led to an unusual amount of supervision and direction for the individual student. Beginning with the class of 1914 every student who was graduated from Whitman College has passed successfully a thorough examination, oral, or oral and written, given by a committee of the faculty in his department and covering the entire field studied in his major subject, three or four years of work. The curriculum of the college and the methods of instruction have been shaped accordingly. A plan of directed study is in effect which takes hold of the student upon his admission to the college and steadily increases in helpful guidance.

As soon as a freshman arrives on the campus and has registered, he is classified by a member of the board of deans. The four deans do all the initial classification because they are thoroughly acquainted with the students and their school records. Sitting as the committee on admissions, they have carefully canvassed the school records, recommendations, health certificates and personal applications of all candidates for admission. When the students admitted apply for classification they are already known and their papers are available for reference.

As soon as the freshman has been classified he is assigned to one of the deans as his adviser. The freshman boys are divided into three groups and assigned to the three men deans, officers of long experience, keen insight and warm sympathy. The girls are assigned to the dean of women, who lives in the same dormitory with them and meets them every day. The supervision given by these freshman advisers is not nominal nor perfunctory. Each undertakes as soon as practicable to become acquainted with all the members of his group. If any one of them is in difficulty of any sort he naturally consults his freshman adviser.

At the beginning of the year all freshman instructors give practical suggestions to freshmen on the methods of study necessary for success in their particular classes. All freshmen are required to attend a practical lecture on how to study by the department of education. A weekly lecture on the various problems of the college student is given to the freshman class by the president of the college. The college further provides for every freshman an opportunity of individual guidance in writing and speaking by means of a fifteen-minute private conference each week with a regular member of the English staff.

If a freshman is reported as failing in a study the freshman adviser is quickly informed and confers immediately with the student on the subject. At the end of four weeks a preliminary report on deficient freshmen is made by all instructors and carefully canvassed by the board of deans.

At the middle of each semester a detailed report on all freshmen who have failed to attain a passing grade is presented to the board of deans that helpful advice may be given to those who are delinquent. At the end of each semester the class record of all students in the institution is published, and those who do not attain the accepted standard of scholarship are placed on probation or dropped from the institution. Every effort is made to assist probationed students, especially those who fall behind because of poor preparation or mental slowness.

In the sophomore year students come into personal relations with their major professors, heads of the departments which they have chosen for their major study, and thereafter gain a steadily increasing amount of supervision, advice and suggestion. During the freshman and sophomore years the student is expected to complete all general requirements for graduation and to lay solid foundations for his more specialized subsequent education.

When the student enters the upper college at the end of his sophomore year he comes almost completely under the guidance of his major professor. He is free from all requirements except a few general requirements laid down by the faculty to insure breadth of vision, and he chooses his courses of study with the advice of his major professor. The latter must approve his classification card and is promptly notified of any delinquency, either in class standing or in behavior.

Many departments have introduced seminar courses, in which a student pursues a line of study and reading independently under the supervision of the instructor. He reads widely and makes written reports on his reading. The number of credits which he receives for the work depends upon the amount and quality of his reading as tested by his written papers and his conferences with his instructor.

The limitation of total college attendance to five hundred students, initiated ten years ago, insures a comparatively small senior class. The largest graduating class was ninety-four in 1927. In the present year of depression, when poverty has reduced normal attendance, the senior class numbers seventy-four. There are fifteen departments developed sufficiently to offer a major study; Philosophy, Psychology and Education, History, Political and Social Science, Economics and Business, Greek, Latin, French, German, English, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology and Music. The average number of seniors majoring in each department would be six for a class of ninety. In the present senior class the number of major students ranges from none in Philosophy to seventeen in Economics, the average being a little less than five.

The major professor, therefore, is ordinarily not too heavily burdened by this responsibility. He will vary his methods according to his time, strength and other duties. No uniformity of methods is required, but each major professor is left free to use his own judgment as to how best he can guide and inspire his major students. Major professors take their duties seriously and endeavor to be genuinely helpful to their students. They advise them, talk freely with them, walk with them and invite them to their homes. The relationship is close, vital and friendly.

In the final comprehensive examination, required by the faculty for graduation, the written examinations, two papers of three hours each, are in some subjects set by the heads of similar departments in other institutions of high standing, while the oral examination—two hours—is conducted by a committee of the faculty, including the major professor himself. A student who fails in these examinations is given a second chance one month later but is not graduated unless successful.

The curriculum of Whitman College is built on the general principle that there are certain great fields of knowledge into which every liberally educated person must have been introduced and that in at least one of these fields each graduate should have a rather definite and considerable body of detailed and specialized knowledge which may serve as a foundation for postgraduate work, as a partial preparation for a vocation, or as a basis for the development of an avocation. The courses which are required of all candidates for a degree are written and oral English, six semester hours; biblical literature, four semester hours; introduction to philosophy and comparative religion, six semester hours; and physical training four years, without evaluation in academic credits. Then a student must choose from offered courses for which he is prepared, eighteen semester hours in the group of studies known as philosophy and social science, eighteen in languages, and eighteen in natural sciences and mathematics.

The College has not believed that a boy who has never studied a subject is qualified to decide whether it is a desirable subject for him to choose, and it has therefore insisted on giving him friendly advice in the selection of his studies, while it has also insisted that certain studies are indispensable for a well educated man.

These required subjects for all students include spoken and written English, to provide that mastery of the mother tongue which is the foundation of all education; acquaintance with the English Bible as essential to the understanding of literature; and an introduction to philosophy and comparative religion as an intellectual orientation course for educated men and women. It also requires the study of at least one foreign language chosen by the student.

In addition it insists upon a balance in the course which a student takes for graduation, expecting him to take a certain proportion of each of the three groups into which the curriculum is divided, philosophy and the social sciences, languages and literature, mathematics and the natural sciences.

No one knows the struggles of Whitman College better than Dean W. A. Bratton who, at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Penrose administration in 1919, said:

The College will not undertake more than it can accomplish. In these words are embodied a policy which the Faculty have consistently followed and sometimes almost fought for. They have recommended to the Board of Trustees the maintenance of such work only as could be adequately equipped, supported and taught. The normal and business courses were dropped in 1896 for this reason, although there was still considerable demand for them. The academy was discontinued by years from 1910 to 1912, although its graduates were helping to swell the college numbers. In 1907 there was begun an effort to secure an added endowment of \$1,000,000 for the purpose of establishing an engineering school of high grade. Through the insistence of the Faculty it was agreed that these courses should not be established until the full amount of new funds needed to support them was available; as the endowment was never fully raised, the courses were never established. There has been in the last years a considerable demand for a postgraduate year leading to the A.M. Degree. This demand, except in a very few exceptional cases, has been denied. We have devoted ourselves exclusively to undergraduate, liberal arts courses. Even in that field our offerings have been less rich than they might well have been, but we have preferred to insure thoroughly good instruction in a smaller range of subjects to increasing our numbers and our nominal service at the expense of quality.

The present stage in the unfolding of Whitman's educational policy is marked by the laying of an increasing emphasis upon the development of initiative and independent thinking on the part of the individual student in the upper college. No fixed ratio between student self-direction and faculty guidance has been formulated or desired, but careful experiments are being conducted in the way of giving increased freedom to the student in his reading, reflection and research.

Whether Mr. Penrose succeeded in attaining his third objective "the creation of an atmosphere of friendliness in which the students of the college might find the most favorable opportunity for developing their characters and their ideals" cannot of course be demonstrated but remains a matter of opinion. Certainly the administration tried faithfully to establish conditions which would make it attainable, particularly by bringing about close personal relations between the individual members of the faculty and the students and by throwing an increasing responsibility upon the students themselves for their own intellectual, moral and spiritual development, but the success achieved must be in doubt except for those who actually found for themselves an atmosphere which helped them to grow towards freedom. If history is "the process of man becoming free," as Hegel said, education should be the process which helps men to become free. Intellectual, moral and spiritual freedom is the goal of the truly helpful college. Such freedom is best attained in a state of friendliness from which fear

is absent and in which self-reliance is developed by means of intimate personal relationships. The spirit of genuine friendliness on the part of the faculty is the root from which all other forms of friendliness best grow and this determines in the last analysis, the extent to which a college is truly helpful, truly Christian.

The use of the name "the Whitman Family" to designate all those who have ever been connected with the institution whether as students or as teachers, is not an affectation but an aspiration. It has been justified by the experience of many of its members as indicated by their following quotations from their letters:

To me, Whitman does not stand for lessons from books as much as it stands for what is finest and best in life. There is something intangible but inexpressibly precious about Whitman. There is something which one absorbs there that makes him forever a little finer and a little different.

My teachers did more than teach me—I watched them, sized them up, modeled myself after their ideas as much as I could.

Whitman was particularly helpful to me in the perspective it has given me on the value of things. Though it offered me wide chances for a number of activities, it held me strictly to a very high standard of scholarship.

Whitman has broadened my mental vision and whetted my natural desire for knowledge. It has opened new avenues of study, new avenues of friendship, and made possible new opportunities for service. Whitman's emphasis on the life of service has born fruit.

I have found that the preparation in science as given at Whitman was equal to, and in some respects superior to that given my medical classmates by some of the leading universities of the country.

Whitman has taught me to value people for themselves, regardless of their station in life.

I found students from all financial levels at Whitman mingling on a common footing. The possession of ample means was neither an aid nor a hindrance to advancement, nor was the self-supporting student given any advantage or denied by privilege.

Do you remember in 1915 that the girls who were presidents of what are now Kappa Kappa Gamma and Delta Gamma were both working their way through college without any assistance at all from their families? To have just one place where there is that much understanding of what are non-essentials is worth the whole existence of the College.

The friendships I found at Whitman, both among faculty and students, have been a great factor. The scholastic foundation acquired made advanced work comparatively easy, and the training in the many activities outside the classroom has helped me in all sorts of personal contacts.

A member of the Faculty who worked for several years in the school of Experimental Education at an eastern university said:

We used to theorize there over the possibility of a socialized institution, a college where a unity of purpose in faculty and students for the common welfare might exist. When I came here, I found the college we had talked about,—a college where teachers and students worked at their problems together in a simple, human, friendly way.

The moral and spiritual influence of the College, exerted progressively through the half century of its first three presidents cannot be measured any more than can the atmosphere of friendliness which the last administration sought to create, but it deserves to be analyzed because it was not accidental but deliberately attained. However, before analyzing the various factors which contributed to this influence, it should be remarked that the human material which the College influenced had three distinctive qualities. The boys and girls who came to Whitman had abounding physical vitality, and the stimulus of poverty and of ambition. Their health was what might be expected in a region which has the lowest infant mortality and the lowest mortality rate in the United States—a region which has not one season or two, but four, with the tonic effect which such a variety of climate gives. They came from homes of moderate circumstances or even poverty, and were in consequence largely dependent upon their own efforts for their college education. They were not the sophisticated children of wealthy parents, expecting those parents to provide them a comfortable living and eventually find them pleasant and profitable positions. Generally at least 90% of the boys of the College and 75% of the girls had to earn their own way through college by all kinds of work in term time and in vacation. An astonishing proportion of these received no help from home and were entirely dependent upon their own exertions. This poverty developed self reliance and an earnestness of purpose which mounted to ambition. The statistics of graduate achievement can only be understood in the light of these facts.

But while the human material which the College influenced was healthy, earnest and ambitious, much of it was crude and uncultivated. Many of the fathers and mothers had never gone to college, and the ideals of their children were unformed. If the College was to provide the most favorable opportunity for these self-reliant young men and young women to form sane ideals and develop wholesome characters it must do so deliberately by means carefully calculated in advance.

The first and most important means upon which the College

depended for its moral and spiritual influence was the character and personality of the members of the faculty. Unformed but ambitious boys and girls cannot be associated daily with serious minded men and women of scholarly attainments and noble purposes without being affected by them. A belief in the contagiousness of personality lies at the foundation of that conception of education which the English universities, Oxford and Cambridge, have contributed to the world. Whitman College devoutly shared this belief. Whatever influence the College exerted on the lives of its students was due fundamentally to this cause.

The faculty of the College through the three administrations believed in the need for religion to inspire and refine their students. They were not required to go to church on Sunday and were entirely free in the exercise of their individual religious faith, but the faculty felt that a daily religious service which all students should attend would be helpful in promoting high ideals and in bringing the students together in communal devotion. The daily chapel was a symbol of that uplift of the mind and heart which would take the students out of their commonplace activities and give them, if only for a brief time, the sense of a higher world. Perhaps the daily chapel service did not always achieve its high purpose, and sometimes sank toward commonplaceness, but it brought the students together each day in a common experience and sometimes exerted a profound influence.

The faculty of the three administrations also believed that a knowledge of the literature of the Old and New Testaments was an invaluable aid in the forming of high ideals. Merely as literature it was essential to the equipment of the educated man, and therefore they had no hesitation in making Biblical Literature a required course for all students in the College. Its object was not devotional or hortatory, but rather to open new horizons for the aspiring mind.

The three administrations further believed in the importance of philosophy as a corrective to the narrow specialization of modern education and as a means of opening new windows to the mind. To discuss the permanent problems of human thought—problems of conduct, problems of the imagination and problems of intellectual construction—seemed to them a necessary part of the education of the modern man. The student of science must study the "Science of Sciences" and gain that comprehensive view of life and of the universe without which he will be a pedant, a mere specialist or a narrow-minded man. It was the object of the department of Philosophy to bring the students of the College to view life *sub specie aeternitatis*, and although probably it did

not succeed in making many students philosophers, it gave them a wider outlook and a knowledge of the great questions which the human soul must ask. Because of this belief in the value of philosophy for broadening the mental horizon and helping to form new ideals, the faculty for fifty-two years made it a required study in the curriculum and insisted that every student should take a year's work in the study of life's fundamental problems.

These were the means by which Whitman College sought to exert a wholesome moral and spiritual influence upon the lives of its students. How well it succeeded must be left for the lives of those students to show.



CHAPTER XIII

ALKI

On the great seal of Washington Territory, adopted by the legislature in 1853, a woman is represented kneeling beside an anchor, and, with upraised arm, pointing to the sky where the mysterious word Alki was inscribed. The anchor is the symbol of hope, but the strange word amid the clouds aroused the curiosity of newcomers and visitors unfamiliar with the language from which it was taken. It is a Chinook word meaning "By and by," "looking toward the future," or something of that sort, and was intended to suggest that the Territory was to be judged by its future possibilities rather than by its actual development at the time. How slight that development was has been indicated in Chapter II—"Interlude."

The word may well be applied to the administration of President Clemen which began on June 18, 1934, and has scarcely had time to do more than express its energy and intentions. The fourth president of Whitman College in fifty-two years, President Clemen, has inherited a great tradition, derived from a history rich with suggestion and inspiration. He is free, if the Trustees and the Overseers approve, to carry the institution to new heights or to change its methods, but he will naturally look backward before stepping forward and will be loyal to the Whitman tradition while developing a greater future for it.

Rudolf Alexander Clemen was born at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on June 11, 1893, of German-English parentage. He studied at

Dalhousie University from which he received both the A.B. and the A.M. degrees. He then attended Harvard University and received the Ph.D. degree in history and economics, afterwards engaging in business and teaching in the Middle West. He has served on the faculties of Purdue, Northwestern and Chicago Universities and was assistant to the president of Northwestern University.

His business experience has been varied. It has included the associate editorship of *The National Provisioner*, the business paper of the meat packing industries; an associate directorship of Armour's Livestock Bureau, Armour and Company, and economic expert for the Illinois Merchants Trust Company, Chicago. He has written widely in fields of business and agricultural economics and industrial history, including several volumes used extensively in the colleges of the country.

He is interested in public affairs and philanthropy and has published many articles both in scholarly and professional periodicals. His interest in public and civic affairs has been shown by his membership on the Agricultural and Illinois Committees of the Chicago Chamber of Commerce and also of the Illinois Chamber of Commerce. He served on several committees planning the Century of Progress Exposition at Chicago.

Dissatisfied with the economic materialism of the times and deeply desiring to exert a more spiritual influence he entered the Chicago Theological Seminary for a year's intensive study and at its close was ordained as a Congregational minister, April 1, 1933. He immediately took charge of a poor and weak home missionary church in one of the suburbs of Chicago and for a year was its minister without salary. He had declined the presidency of three other colleges before he was selected president of Whitman College, which he only accepted after a personal visit and a careful investigation of its condition, resources, and possibilities. He was married to Margaret, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Jones, of Chicago, on December 29, 1923. Two sons, Arthur and Rudolf have been born to them.

It was in the presence of a large and brilliant audience gathered in the out-of-doors amphitheatre that the inauguration of President Clemen took place as the climax of the seventy-fifth anniversary and commencement exercises. Accepting the office of president formally tendered him by the Chairman of the Board of Overseers, Hon. M. F. Gose, LL.D., he delivered a thoughtful and impressive inaugural address "Youth and Tomorrow." Dr. Clemen said:

The aim of the curriculum will be to impart a knowledge of the laws that govern nature and our social relations; of the ethical principles that

should guide our conduct, and to prepare every student for the work he should do in the world.

This does not mean the teaching of vocational, practical, cash value subjects. Emphatically no! Anyone who knows the facts of human experience will admit that more people are inefficient and unsuccessful because of personal deficiencies than because of shortcomings in vocational training. He learns best and most effectively those numberless professions and vocations who has developed the habit of learning . . . and who searches out the meaning in his work.

It has been the failure of citizens to understand many of our current problems and their tragic failure or inability to co-operate in their solution, which is one of the causes that have led to breakdowns in our present civilization. . . . Because of this lack of men and women who can see a problem in the large, and life as a whole, proficiency has run beyond philosophical outlook, ethical impulse, political capacity and social responsibility.

I do not believe that parents say to the college, "Take our boys and girls, educate them in wordly knowledge, but take no account of their spiritual welfare." I do not believe that. I believe that this spiritual side of the training is definitely a part of the task that we in college should directly undertake in preparing youth for life.

Let us remember that book-learning is addressed to the intellect, not to the feelings.... The College must cultivate the feelings of youth as well as their minds. Its atmosphere is as important as its curriculum. Careers will be affected not alone by specific knowledge. . . . Disposition toward life will be determined by the extent that students' feelings have been refined and tinged with a sense of responsibility in college through social and athletic activities. Herein lie incentives to action and the wellsprings of inspiration among college men and women.

"I see no reason," said President Clemen to a group of alumni recently, "why Whitman College should not become the representative American college of the West, as Carleton is the representative American college of the Middle West, and Swarthmore of the East. We are on our way!"

President Clemen did not wait until the opening of the fall term before beginning his work as president of the college, but immediately after commencement began to devote himself to its affairs with extraordinary energy and ability. The trustees and faculty were quickly convinced that they had been fortunate in finding a vigorous and intelligent leader who would infuse new life into the institution. Critical at first, they were soon charmed by Dr. Clemen's winning personality, his quick humor, his hearty laugh and his keen insight into the complex problems of college administration, and they began at once to give him their loyal support and backing. Is not the college fortunate to have found for its fourth president, a man so rich in natural endowments, so upright in character and so thoroughly trained by educational and business experience for his great work?

APPENDIX

- A. Statistical History**
- B. Charters and Constitution**

APPENDIX A

WHITMAN COLLEGE STATISTICAL HISTORY SINCE 1906

YEAR	Attendance		Financial			
	Col- lege	Total	Total Assets	Endowment	Current Expense	Deficit
1907	125	248	\$ 490,555.37	\$ 236,617.94	\$ 70,993.08	\$ 1,989.07
1908	149	267	548,811.35	231,723.02	71,733.17	7,083.92
1909	204	312	626,131.07	316,725.82	118,852.50	25,706.47
1910	240	382	657,208.90	313,180.16	120,405.62	17,510.48
1911	241	361	719,599.72	314,400.81	127,482.16	30,213.64
1912	225	357	786,512.20	296,887.21	124,170.43	27,178.98
1913	232	342	781,220.59	295,609.76	92,150.93	21,646.72
1914	250	383	1,109,912.03	663,493.80	92,856.68	16,053.89
1915	244	351	1,131,332.19	678,413.33	82,318.94	7,635.16
1916	257	472	1,135,055.51	686,116.36	88,892.92	3,607.78
1917	312	484	1,172,155.72	667,449.73	88,280.68	10,445.97
1918	249	426	1,171,373.81	665,523.28	77,927.22	7,127.91
1919	310	750	1,258,004.06	744,309.03	81,220.07	7,461.28
1920	246	634	1,344,264.08	802,514.60	116,493.84	6,371.58
1921	410	760	1,437,494.65	888,994.30	145,015.78	9,330.99
1922	449	783	1,452,350.12	881,217.56	157,658.15	1,263.97
1923	497	776	1,469,074.34	882,924.21	164,543.21	Gain
1924	505	838	1,493,617.00	883,322.91	179,591.66	261.19
1925	555	844	1,589,442.80	1,003,519.84	191,048.06	2,228.52
1926	608	880	1,788,530.41	1,187,785.78	204,045.35	10,807.97
1927	559	835	1,794,502.32	1,162,909.15	219,735.87	13,473.85
1928	586	876	1,834,556.43	1,182,851.04	230,221.98	7,597.75
1929	579	898	1,855,924.27	1,181,718.73	250,506.03	Gain
1930	589	951	1,880,194.10	1,185,290.08	276,913.28	Gain
1931	564	834	1,915,975.11	1,199,983.87	277,395.21	11,488.78
1932	502	718	1,913,810.44	1,173,468.05	229,872.77	10,371.85
1933	467	712	1,934,333.76	1,173,111.63	179,789.23	16,256.90
1934	450	525	1,854,963.36	1,078,760.55	190,147.83	Gain

APPENDIX B AN ACT

TO ESTABLISH AN INSTITUTION OF LEARNING IN WALLA WALLA COUNTY

. Sec. 1. *Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington.*

That there shall be established in Walla Walla county an institution of learning, for the instruction of persons of both sexes, in science and literature, to be called the "Whitman Seminary"; and that Elkanah Walker, George H. Atkinson, Elisha S. Tanner, Erastus S. Joslyn, W. A. Tenney, H. H. Spaulding, John C. Smith, James Cragie, and Cushing Eells, and their successors, are hereby declared to be a body politic and corporate, in law, by the name and style of the President and Trustees of Whitman Seminary.

Sec. 2. That the corporation before named shall have perpetual succession, and power to acquire, possess and hold property, real, personal and mixed, and the same to sell, grant, convey, rent, or otherwise dispose of at pleasure; and they shall have power to contract, and be contracted with, sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, in all courts of justice, both at law and equity; they shall have and use a common seal, with power to alter it at pleasure; and they may exercise all the powers and enjoy all the privileges of other institutions of learning in this territory.

Sec. 3. That the corporate concerns of said Whitman Seminary shall be managed by themselves as a board, consisting of the nine members, and that a majority of the members of the board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business; said trustees shall elect one of their number to be president of their board, and they shall have power to fill all vacancies in their body, as these may from time to time occur, by resignation, expulsion, death, or otherwise, and shall have power to make and put in force such by-laws and regulations as shall from time to time be deemed necessary for the government of said corporation.

Sec. 4. That the board of trustees shall have power to appoint subordinate officers and agents, and to make, ordain and establish, such ordinances, rules and regulations, as they may deem necessary for the good government of said institution, its officers, teachers and pupils, and for the management of the affairs of said corporation to the best advantage. Provided, that they shall not

contravene the constitution or laws of the United States, or the laws of this Territory.

Sec. 5. That all deeds and other instruments of conveyance shall be made by order of the board of trustees, sealed with the seal of the corporation, signed by the president, and by him acknowledged in his official capacity in order to insure their validity.

Sec. 6. That the capital stock of said institution shall never exceed one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, nor the income or proceeds of the same be appropriated to any other use than for the benefit of said institution as contemplated by this act.

Sec. 7. That this act to take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Passed December 20, 1859

CHARTER OF WHITMAN COLLEGE

An Act to amend an Act entitled an "Act to establish an institution of learning in Walla Walla County," passed December 20, 1859.

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington, that the above named act to establish an institution of learning in Walla Walla County, passed December 20, 1859, be and the same is hereby so amended that section first shall read as follows: That there shall be established in Walla Walla County an institution of learning for the instruction of both sexes in literature, science, and art, to be called Whitman College, and that Elkanah Walker, George H. Atkinson, Elisha S. Tanner, Erastus S. Joslyn, W. A. Tenney, H. H. Spaulding, John C. Smith, James Cragie and Cushing Eells, and their successors, are hereby declared to be a body politic and corporate, in law, by the name and style of the Board of Trustees of Whitman College.

Sec. 2. That section second of said Act shall be amended to read as follows: That the corporation before named shall have perpetual succession, and shall have power to acquire, by purchase, donation, devise, or otherwise, and possess and hold property, real, personal, and mixed, and the same to sell, grant, convey, rent or otherwise dispose of at pleasure; and they shall have power to contract and be contracted with, sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, in all courts of justice, both at law and equity. They shall have and use a common seal, with power to alter at pleasure; and they may exercise all the powers and enjoy all the privileges of other institutions of learning in this Territory.

Sec. 3. That section third of said Act shall be amended to read as follows: That the corporate concerns of said Whitman College shall be managed by the Trustees themselves as a board, consisting of nine members, and that a majority of the members of said

Board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business; said Trustees shall elect one of their number to be president of their Board, and they shall have power to fill all vacancies in their body as these may from time to time occur, by resignation, expulsion, death, or otherwise, and shall have power to make and put in force such by-laws and regulations as shall, from time to time, be deemed necessary for the government of said corporation.

Sec. 4. That section fourth of said Act shall be amended to read as follows: That the Board of Trustees shall have the power of appointment and removal of the President of the College, professors, tutors, teachers, and other necessary agents and officers and may fix the compensation of each; and may make such by-laws for the government of the institution as they deem necessary, and shall have power to confer, on the recommendation of the Faculty, all such degrees and honors as are conferred by colleges and universities of the United States, and such others (having reference to the course of study and the attainments of the applicants) as they may deem proper. That the president and professors of the institution shall constitute the Faculty of said College; and shall have power to arrange the courses of study, and to take the proper measures to enforce the rules and regulations enacted by the Board of Trustees for the government and discipline of the students, and to suspend and expel offenders as may be deemed necessary.

Sec. 5. That section fifth shall be amended so as to read as follows: That all deeds and instruments of conveyance shall be made by order of the Board of Trustees, sealed with the seal of the corporation, signed by the President and Secretary of the Board, and by them acknowledged in their official capacity in order to insure the validity of said deeds and instruments.

Sec. 6. That section sixth of said Act be amended to read as follows: That the property of said Board of Trustees of Whitman College, including all income and proceeds, shall be used exclusively for the purposes of education, and in consideration of such use, said property, income, and proceeds shall not be subject to taxation.

Sec. 7. That this Act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage and approval.

Passed the Council, November 21, 1883.

SEWELL TRUAX, *President of Council*

Passed the House, November 21, 1883

E. C. FERGUSON, *Speaker of House*

Approved, November 28, 1883

WILLIAM A. NEWELL, *Governor.*

CONSTITUTION OF WHITMAN COLLEGE

ARTICLE I

NAME

The corporate name of the institution shall be THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF WHITMAN COLLEGE.

ARTICLE II

PURPOSE

The purpose of this corporation shall be to maintain a non-sectarian, Christian institution of learning, to be called Whitman College, for the instruction of both sexes in literature, science, and art.

ARTICLE III

ORGANIZATION

Sec. 1. The corporate concerns of Whitman College shall be vested in the Board of Trustees, consisting of nine members, of whom a majority shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. They shall hold all properties and exercise all powers conferred upon them by charter, but may delegate to the Board of Overseers, hereinafter established, certain express powers at will. They shall hold office for four years, or until their successors are elected. The President of the College shall be a member ex officio. The President of the College and a majority of the Board of Trustees shall be members of Christian Churches.

Sec. 2. The Board of Overseers shall consist of sixty-four members, to be appointed originally by the Board of Trustees, of whom a majority shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. They shall have the power to establish departments of study, to provide means for the maintenance thereof, to direct the financial and educational policy of the institution, and to take such measures as they shall deem necessary for the development of the institution along the lines of its history, traditions, and specific purpose. The exercise by the Board of Overseers of any of the powers developed by the charter upon the Board of Trustees shall require ratification of said Board of Trustees. The Trustees shall be members ex officiis. Members of the Board of Overseers shall hold office for five years. When the Board is at first constituted lots shall be drawn to arrange the elected members into five classes of eleven each, whose first tenure of office shall be respectively for one, two, three, four and five years, at the end of which time vacancies shall be filled by election by the Board of Overseers.

Sec. 3. The Faculty shall consist of the President and Professors of the institution, who shall have power to arrange the courses of study, and to take proper measures to enforce the rules and regulations enacted by the Board of Trustees for the government and discipline of the students, and to suspend and expel offenders as may be deemed necessary.

ARTICLE IV

OFFICERS

Sec. 1. Of the Board of Trustees.

a. The officers of the Board of Trustees shall be a President and a Secretary, who shall be chosen by ballot at its annual meeting and shall hold office for one year or until their successors are chosen.

b. The President of the Board of Trustees shall preside at all meetings of the Board of Trustees, and shall sign all deeds and instruments of conveyance ordered by said Board.

c. The Secretary shall keep a full and accurate report of all meetings of the Board of Trustees, shall keep the official seal of the corporation, and shall sign and seal all the deeds and instruments of conveyance ordered by said Board.

Sec. 2. Of the Board of Overseers.

a. The officers of the Board of Overseers shall be a chairman, three vice-chairmen, a secretary who shall be the same person as the secretary of the Board of Trustees, and an executive committee. The executive committee shall consist of seven members, including the chairman and secretary. These officers shall be chosen by ballot at the annual meeting hereinafter provided, and shall hold office until their successors are chosen.

b. The chairman shall preside at all meetings of the Board of Overseers. He shall call special meetings upon the request of three members, shall act as executive head of said Board when it is not in session, and shall represent it officially upon all public occasions.

c. The duties of the secretary shall be those usually appertaining to such office.

d. The executive committee shall exercise all the powers of the Board of Overseers when said Board is not in session, and shall make a full report of its actions at each meeting of the Board.

Sec. 3. Of the Faculty.

a. The officers of the Faculty shall be a President, a Dean, and a Secretary, of whom the President and Dean shall be chosen by the Board of Trustees to hold office until their successors are chosen.

b. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Faculty. He shall appoint a vice-president pro tempore to preside in his absence, shall have power to call meetings of the Faculty or Board of Trustees, and shall be the executive head of the institution. He shall make recommendations from time to time to the Board of Trustees and Board of Overseers, and shall nominate new professors, tutors, and teachers, to be elected by the Board of Trustees.

c. The duties of the Dean of the College shall be determined by the President after mutual consideration between the President and the Dean from time to time.

d. The Secretary shall be chosen by the Faculty from their own number, and shall continue in office until his successor is elected. He shall keep full and accurate reports of all meetings of the Faculty, and of all statutes and regulations enacted thereby.

ARTICLE V TREASURER

Sec. 1. A Treasurer shall be elected by the Board of Overseers and confirmed by the Board of Trustees, who shall be the custodian of all funds and properties of the College. He shall invest its permanent funds under the direction of the finance committee, shall collect all rents, interest moneys, and income derived therefrom, shall care for the proper maintenance of all its properties, and be the guardian of its financial interest. He shall collect all tuitions, fees, and outstanding accounts, and shall disburse such sums of money as are authorized by the Board of Overseers. He shall maintain two separate accounts, one for the endowment funds and one for current expenses, and these shall be kept distinct. He shall deposit all income from vested funds, tuitions, fees, and receipts in the current expense accounts, which alone shall be subject to draft for meeting the annual expenses for maintenance. He shall submit his accounts and all evidences of property under his charge to the auditors or auditing committee appointed by the Board of Overseers. He shall submit full and accurate reports of the receipts and expenditures of the College to the Board of Trustees and of Overseers at their annual meetings.

Sec. 2. The Treasurer of the College may from time to time and for periods of time while he holds the office nominate an Assistant Treasurer, who if confirmed by the Board of Overseers shall have such of the powers and perform such of the duties of the Treasurer as the Board of Overseers shall think fit. The Assistant Treasurer shall receive such salary as the Board of Overseers shall approve,

and the Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer shall give to the Board of Trustees their joint and several bond in such sum as the Board of Overseers shall determine from time to time for the faithful performance of their duties.

Sec. 3. The reports of the Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer shall be audited not less than twice each year by auditors or committees appointed by the Board of Overseers.

ARTICLE VI FINANCE COMMITTEE

The investment of the permanent funds of the College shall be entrusted to a Finance Committee consisting of seven persons, viz., the Treasurer, the President of the College, and five others elected annually by the Board of Overseers, from their own number. Four shall constitute a quorum, and no investment shall be made without unanimous approval of all the members present at a regular meeting. No portion of the permanent funds shall be used for current expenses. The Finance Committee shall submit an annual report to the Board of Trustees and Overseers at their annual meetings.

ARTICLE VII DECLARATION

The Trustees, Overseers, Faculty and Officers of Instruction and Administration shall sign the Roll of Official Records of Trustees, Overseers, Faculty and Officers of Instruction and Administration, and shall subscribe to the following declaration:

In signing this roll, I accept the position written in against my name, to which I have been elected by the constituted authorities of Whitman College. I hereby declare my intention of fulfilling the duties thereof, and of supporting faithfully the constitution, by-laws and regulations of Whitman College, in accordance with the Christian principles and spirit of its foundation.

ARTICLE VIII CALENDAR

Sec. 1. The fiscal year of the College shall end on the 31st day of July.

Sec. 2. The Commencement of the College shall take place upon the third Wednesday in June of each calendar year. The exercises of Convocation shall be held on the evening of the third Tuesday in September.

Sec. 3. The Board of Overseers shall meet on the third Tuesday of November and June. The annual meeting of the Board of Overseers shall be held on the third Tuesday of November and the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees shall be held on the third Wednesday in November.

Sec. 4. Regular meetings of the Board of Trustees shall be held on the third Wednesday of each month.

ARTICLE IX

BY-LAWS

By-laws not inconsistent with this constitution may be adopted at any regular meeting of the Board of Trustees on a two thirds vote of the members present.

ARTICLE X

AMENDMENTS

This constitution may be altered or amended at the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees by a two-thirds vote of the members present, provided that written notice of the proposed alteration or amendment has been sent to each member of the Board at least one month previous to the annual meeting.

Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington

June 9, 1908

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